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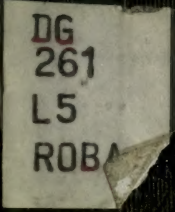
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LIFE

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR.

"He was no doubt of a very noble mind; yet such as aimed more at his particular advancement than at any merits for the common good."—Bacon.

LONDON:

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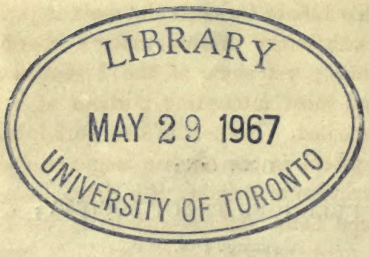

PREFACE.

THE following Life of Julius Cæsar includes nearly the whole of the first book of the Lives of the Cæsars by Suetonius. The authorities for statements not found in Suetonius are Cæsar's Commentaries, Dio Cassius, Appian, Cicero's Orations and Letters, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Florus, Lucan, and Plutarch. It is generally acknowledged that Plutarch's Life of Cæsar is the most imperfect and unsatisfactory of that writer's charming biographies; yet some of the best-authenticated and most interesting portions of it are here embodied. No part of this work is taken from any book in the English language, except the description of Britain: it is drawn from the Greek and Latin authors who have just been named, compared with Crevier's "Continuation of Rollin," with Niebuhr's "Lectures on the

History of Rome," Michelet's "Roman History," and Mérimée's "Studies on Roman History."

Little space has been left for the reflections arising from the varied life of so extraordinary a man: the reader, it is hoped, will feel at every step more than the writer could have suggested. As a Christian, however, he cannot allow this miniature biography to pass from under his hand without a few observations. In judging of the character of eminent men in past times, we should remember the state of knowledge, religion, and morals, in their country, and in their day. If we fail to do this, we measure them by a standard which they knew not; we cannot enter properly into the consideration of their spirit and their motives; and, consequently, we do injustice both to ourselves and to them, by thinking worse or better of them than they deserve. Julius Cæsar, for example, was a heathen, who lived before the advent of the Son of God to redeem us by his blood, and to regenerate us by his Spirit: he not only was a stranger to those sublime views of God, of man, and of salvation, which the gospel gives, but he had none of the advantages which we possess in seeing these views embodied

in the character of Christians, and spreading a healthy tone through the opinions and habits of society. He was brought up in the martial idolatry of Rome. He lived when the spirit of Roman liberty had been weakened by the luxury of the rich, the domination of the strong, and the abject servility of the poor. His infantine amusements, his youthful exercises, and his earliest public employments, all fostered the ambition which was his master passion; and neither the camp, the senate, nor the temple, was a school for teaching him humility and self-denial. With the energy of mind so conspicuous in his whole life, to what a height might he have brought the human character, and what a blessing would he have been to the world, had he walked in the light of Christianity, and amongst a people prepared to enjoy, with the dignity of true freedom, the advantages of so vast an empire, and so wide an influence, as the providence of God had given to the Romans!

As it was, Cæsar must be judged according to the standard by which he judged other men: no opinion of him must be formed by comparing him with what other Romans were, and what he might have become if he had not been

enslaved by lust, and blinded by his thirst of glory. The splendour of Cæsar's abilities and successes must not dazzle us into a forgetfulness of his crimes, and of the miseries he inflicted. The singular force and grandeur of his character can never be overlooked. His sharp insight—his sagacious, comprehensive, and practical views—his boldness of conception—his indomitable perseverance—his unswerving decision—and his power over armies, popular assemblies, and men of genius, rank, and fame—prove him to have belonged to the highest order of men of great capacity; and it is impossible to survey his actions without a feeling approaching to the awful. Neither was he wanting in the virtues which the Romans admired, and which indeed all mankind admire. He was sober. He was generous. While distinguished by the valour of a soldier, and the impetuosity of a conqueror, he was not cruel: he declared that he had more pleasure in acts of clemency than in those exciting scenes through which he was hurried by what he regarded as the stern necessity of war. But the selfishness of his ambition, his recklessness of human life, his contempt of national liberty, his rapacity, his arrogance, his sensual and

luxurious prodigality, cannot but awaken every feeling of sorrowful and righteous indignation. One ruling aim governed his whole character; and to that he sacrificed everything. That he might be the master of the world, Rome and all mankind must be made to feel his power.

To those who condemn all war, shrinking from conquerors as from fiends, the life of Cæsar presents little more than a succession of murderous tragedies.

No Christian will think it unnatural to contrast Cæsar with the men who, within a century from his time, carried on a warfare of a far different character, and who founded an empire which will continue for ever. *Their* commission was from the living and true God, "manifest in the flesh." Their message was Reconciliation. Their shield was Faith. Their sword was Truth. Their conquests made men free, virtuous, and happy. And when they looked back on what they had done, it was neither in the self-complacency of pride, nor with the stings of remorse; but under a grateful sense of the help of the Divine Spirit, with a joyful consciousness of the honour bestowed on them by their exalted Saviour, and in the glorious prospect of sharing at last in that triumph

which awaits the conqueror of a rebel world. "Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ."

May it be the happiness of every reader of this small volume to cultivate the humility, gentleness, and mercy, which our religion teaches; and to join with these graces the firmness, decision, and constancy, which, while they clothe evil men with the power of demons, raise the renewed and devoted follower of Christ above the angels of God. In the union of humble faith with conscientious activity, of meekness with ardour, and of benevolence with fidelity and perseverance, we behold the *true hero*:—and it is by an army of such heroes, led by the Captain of their Salvation, that we hope to see the nations brought to freedom, piety, and rest, under the dominion of the PRINCE OF PEACE.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Cæsar—Early life—Escape from Sulla's proscription—Taken by pirates—Revenge—Study of eloquence—Actions in the east—Public appearance in Rome—Tribune—Quæstor—In Spain—Suspected—Ædile—Bibulus—Alarms—Chief Pontiff—Prætor—Sallust—Speech of Cæsar—Deposed—Restored—Accused—Clodius—Union with Crassus and Pompey—Government in Spain—First consulate—Violent measures Page 11

CHAPTER II.

Gaul described — People — Nobles — Druids — Manners — Campaigns of Cæsar—Invasion of Britain—Reflections of Plutarch—Schemes of Cæsar 49

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Ravenna—The Rubicon—Terror at Rome—Flight of Pompey—Cato—Cæsar's conquests in Italy—Siege of Brindisi — Pompey's escape to Greece — Cæsar at Rome—Spain—Marseilles— Mutiny — Second Consulate — Dictator—Follows Pompey to Greece — Battle of Pharsalia—Bold adventure — Death of Pompey—Cæsar weeping at the sight of Pompey's head 71

CHAPTER IV.

Cæsar lands at Alexandria—Reception—Detention—Attacked—Narrow Escape — Conquest — Establishment of Cleopatra — Rapid progress in the East—Speedy victory over Pharnace—Brief account of the victory — Arrival at Rome — Sedition quelled—Departure for Africa—Conquest of Thapsus—Utica—Death of Cato 85

CHAPTER V.

Honours conferred on Cæsar—Orations—Triumphs—Rewards to the soldiers—Shows for the people—Civil improvements—Acts of clemency—Increase of the senate—War with the sons of Pompey in Spain—Victory at MUNDA—End of the civil war—Triumph decreed by the senate—Their motives—Reflections—Honours heaped on Cæsar—His magnanimity—Ambitious schemes . . . . . Page 96

CHAPTER VI.

Description of Cæsar's person—Manners—Severity—Temperance—Rapacity—Eloquence—Writings—Hardihood—Cupidity—Caution—Boldness—Freedom from superstition—Singular horse—Courage—Discipline—Attachment of his soldiers—Their bravery—Remarkable instances—Cæsar's authority—Fidelity—Clemency—Magnanimity—Cæsar's ambition—Haughtiness—Desire for the royal crown 113

CHAPTER VII.

Dissatisfaction of the Romans—Conspiracy—Brutus—Cassius—Their reconciliation—Ligurius—Portia—Plans of the conspirators—Suspicions—Omens—Fears of the conspirators—Cæsar in the portico of Pompey—DEATH OF CÆSAR—Confusion in Rome—Meeting of the senate—Artful speech of Antony—Union of the factions—Cæsar's will—Public funeral—Honours paid to Cæsar's memory—Destruction of his murderers . . 135

CHAPTER VIII.

Cæsar's greatness—Heartlessness—Pride—Crimes—Crime of his murderers—Their imprudence—The frailty of ambition—True greatness of character—Doing good—Advantages of our country and times—Conclusion 158

LIFE

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Cæsar—Early life—Escape from Sulla's proscription—Taken by pirates—Revenge—Study of eloquence—Actions in the east—Public appearance in Rome—Tribune—Quæstor—In Spain—Suspected—Ædile—Bibulus—Alarms—Chief Pontiff—Prætor—Sallust—Speech of Cæsar—Deposed—Restored—Accused—Clodius—Union with Crassus and Pompey—Government in Spain—First consulate—Violent measures.

NINETY-NINE years before the Christian era, and six hundred and fifty-three years from the foundation of the city, Caius Julius Cæsar was born at Rome, on the eleventh day of the month Quinctilis, called, after him, July.

He was descended from an ancient family, which proudly traced its origin to Æneas. The tradition was, that the posterity of Ascanius, or Iulus, son of Æneas by Creüsa, remained in Alba till that town was destroyed by Tullus

Hostilius, who carried them to Rome, where they flourished in two branches, the house of Tullus, and the house of Cæsar. Members of the house of Cæsar were distinguished by holding public offices from the time of the Punic wars to the end of the Republic.

Of Cæsar's grandfather, bearing the same name, no more is known, than that he married Martia, of the house of king Ancus Martius, and that he had one daughter, (afterwards the wife of Marius,) and two sons, Caius Julius, and Lucius Julius, both of whom died in the flower of their age. Caius married Aurelia, an accomplished lady of the equestrian order, by whom he had, besides some daughters, one son, Caius Julius Cæsar, whose life is now to be narrated.

Of Cæsar's early life there is scarcely a trace in history. He lost his father when he was in his sixteenth year. From the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ascribed to Tacitus, we learn that his mother Aurelia, according to the custom of Roman matrons, devoted her eminent talents and virtues to the training of her only son in the mental discipline and moral habits which became his rank and fortune. While yet a youth, he had been affianced to a rich

young lady, named Cossatia, whom he never married.

The year after his father's death, he was made high priest of Jupiter, by Marius and Cinna. His first marriage was with Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, by whom he had Julia, who became the wife of Pompey the Great.

The Roman people had passed through several forms of government—the kingly, the aristocratic, and the popular. In the time of Cæsar's youth they had come under the despotism of Sulla the Dictator.

Among other acts of his brief dictatorship, Sulla had proscribed all the relatives of his vanquished rivals, among whom was Marius, Julius Cæsar's uncle. At the instigation of partizans, Cæsar was included in this proscription. Sulla was bent on making Cæsar divorce his wife, but failing in this, he deprived him of his priesthood, of his wife's fortune, and of his own inheritance. The effect of this severity was to drive Cæsar to embrace the opposite or plebeian faction. He fled by night, and in disguise, from the Dictator's vengeance, that he might hide himself in the neighbouring country of the Sabines. Though labouring

under a painful disease, he was forced to change his haunt every night. At last he was found by a centurion, Cornelius Phagita; but by bribing him he escaped.

The Vestal Virgins interceded with Sulla on his behalf. Mammercus Æmilius, and Aurelius Cotta, his relations and neighbours, joined in the intercession. For a long time Sulla resisted the entreaties of the best and most illustrious patricians. At length he yielded, but in these words,—"He shall be spared, since they will have it so: yet, let them know, that he for whose safety they are now so anxious, will one day be the ruin of their party, which they fancy they are strengthening by saving him: for in Cæsar there is many a Marius."

Cæsar's first military service was in Asia, under the guidance of the Prætor, M. Thermas. He was sent by Thermas tc take a fleet into Bithynia. There he spent some time with Nicomedes, the king of that country, and was guilty of nameless crimes, which were never afterwards forgotten by the Romans. On one occasion he was honoured by his commander with the civic crown—a wreath of oak-leaves, given by the Romans to him who saved the life of a fellow-citizen. He afterwards served,

though only for a short time, under Servilius Isauricus, in Cilicia, the principal rendezvous of pirates.

Sulla died of a loathsome and terrible disease. His death opened the way for civil disturbances at Rome, in which the lead was taken by M. Lepidus, in opposition to his colleague, Catulus. On this occasion Cæsar repaired to Rome with all haste. On his arrival, the most tempting offers were made by Lepidus to gain his adherence; but Cæsar declined. He feared to commit himself to so rash a leader. Neither did he see that the undertaking presented a sufficiently favourable opportunity for raising himself to distinction. At the age of twenty-one he appeared in the Forum as the public accuser of Cornelius Dolabella, a man of consular dignity, lately rewarded with a triumph for the conquest of the Thracians, who had defeated Lepidus. On his return from Macedonia, Cæsar charged him with corruption in the government of his province. Many cities of Greece sustained the accusation by sending witnesses to prove the guilt of Dolabella. Cæsar pleaded against him in an oration which gained for his forensic talents the highest admiration. But he was disappointed. Hortensius and Cotta,

being what we should now call leading men at the bar, saved Dolabella by their practised skill and matured eloquence.

It may be supposed that the young orator was sufficiently vexed by his defeat in a trial which had engaged so much public attention, and that he would be exposed to all the consequences of Dolabella's hatred. To relieve himself from his chagrin, and to escape from the rage of his enemies, he resolved to retire to Rhodes, in order that he might perfect his study of eloquence under Apollonius, then the most celebrated teacher of that art. On his voyage towards Rhodes in the winter months, he was captured by some pirates near the isle of Pharmacusa, now called Parmosa, opposite to Miletus, on the coast of Asia Minor. He remained a prisoner thirty-eight days, attended by one physician and two chamberlains, having despatched his other attendants and his slaves to procure the price of his ransom in different cities of Asia. During his abode with these pirates, he acted rather as a master than as a prisoner. When they demanded twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them, told them they did not know who their captive was, and promised to pay them fifty talents. Whenever

they disturbed his rest, he sent them orders to be silent. He amused himself by writing poems and speeches, which he read to the pirates; and when they showed no signs of admiration, he called them fools and barbarians. He joined them in their exercises as if he had been their equal; but when they ventured on any freedom, he threatened to crucify them; they were charmed with his easy manners, and took his threats for jokes. As soon as he had paid his ransom he landed on the Asiatic shore, and, gathering what vessels he could at Miletus, he attacked the pirates at anchor near the island. Some of their vessels he sank, some he took, and the men he put in prison. He went to Junius, pro-consul of Asia, for his orders to punish the prisoners. The pro-consul, an avaricious and envious man, said that he had no intention of executing the prisoners, but that they should be sold. This answer was not agreeable to Cæsar's views. He returned to Miletus, and before the pro-consul's orders could arrive, he fulfilled the threat which had been taken in jest, and crucified them all.

He then pursued his voyage to Rhodes. Cicero was a disciple of the same master of rhetoric. Of Cæsar's success in cultivating

eloquence, we cannot have better evidence than that of Cicero. They were both severe judges of an art so important to a Roman statesman, and they were eminent examples of it in practice. It was Cicero's ambition to be the first of orators, and he succeeded by directing all his studies to perfection of that kind. Cæsar was content to be the second of orators, that he might be the first of soldiers, and by that means the ruler of the Roman commonwealth.

During Cæsar's sojourn at Rhodes, Mithridates, king of Pontus, was ravaging the neighbouring countries. Cæsar did not wish to seem wanting to the allies of his country in the hour of danger; and the excitements of active life had more attraction for him than the studies of rhetoric. Passing from Rhodes into Asia, he soon brought together the forces of the auxiliaries, drove the prefect of Mithridates from the province, and confirmed such citizens as had been doubtful and hesitating in their fidelity to Rome. On his return to Rome, Cæsar used every art which his great talents could command, to make himself popular with the multitude. He pleaded in the forum. He made himself acceptable to the lowest classes. He delighted the citizens by the suavity of his

manners, the splendour of his equipage, and the luxurious hospitality of his table. His enemies were not sorry to see him launch into extravagances, which they believed would soon ruin him; with the loss of his property and his credit they looked for the failure of his popularity. But though he was overwhelmed with debts before he entered on any public office, his power had struck its roots too deeply to be easily torn up. The wealth he sacrificed was nothing to the influence he gained. He hid his schemes under a cover of almost effeminate debauchery. The wisest men could scarcely imagine that such a man was aiming at the overthrow of the Republic. Even Cicero, whose insight into men was so piercing, was puzzled when he looked on the softness of his manners. There is no doubt that this one object was aimed at through his life, and that he pursued it with a steady purpose. While men were looking for his destruction as a gay and thoughtless debauchee, the steel-hearted young patrician smiled at the notoriety he had acquired, seeing in it the sure foundation of his future greatness.

The admiration of the people was not long in showing itself by his appointment to the

office of military tribune, the first step in public advancement, and a situation of some responsibility and dignity connected with the health, provisions, and orderly living, of the soldiers in the camp. At this time the popular party in Rome was engaged in restoring the tribunes of the people to the powers of which they had been deprived by Sulla. To this party Cæsar gave the utmost support. A law was introduced by Plotius, one of the tribunes, which enabled Cæsar to secure the return of Cinna, his wife's brother, who had been proscribed by Sulla, to the honours of his citizenship.

The next rank to which he attained was that of quæstor, or pay-master, under the prætor, or pro-consul, Antistius Vetus. The Roman law made the connexion between a prætor and his quæstor sacred, somewhat like that between father and son. Cæsar was duly observant of the relation; for afterwards, when he became prætor, he treated the son of Vetus with the same friendship which the father had shown to himself.

Before his departure for Spain in this office, he availed himself of two singular occasions for ingratiating himself with the people, and for

strengthening the influence of his party. Julia was the widow of Marius, and the sister of Cæsar's father. He pronounced her funeral eulogy. In this oration he referred to her ancestry, as descended on the mother's side from kings, and on her father's from the immortal gods. He also displayed in the procession the images of Marius, which had been removed from public gaze by Sulla. This bold measure excited much clamour; but it was drowned by the applause of the people, who could not contain their joy and their admiration of the man who had brought up, as it were from the shades, the honours of their favourite leader, after the lapse of so many years.

The other occasion was that of the funeral of his wife Cornelia, Cinna's daughter. It had not been the Roman custom previously, to honour the memory of matrons by a funeral panegyric, unless they died at an advanced age. Cæsar resolved to depart from the received usage, by thus celebrating the obsequies of Cornelia, who had died in the prime of life. By so doing, he not only increased the regard of the people for the party of which Cinna, Cornelia's father, had been a chief support, but he touched their hearts by those tender praises

which gained for him the character of a good man, and a loving husband, as well as of a patriot and an orator.

Whilst he was in Spain, he visited, with the authority of his superior officer, all the cities in the province in which justice was administered. It was at Cadiz, one of these cities, that he saw a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules. He sighed heavily, reproaching himself for his own inactivity at an age at which that hero had nearly subdued the world. Spurred by the thoughts that followed this reflection, he immediately sought his discharge, and left Spain before the appointed time, to profit by better opportunities for distinction at Rome. A strange dream, which he had the night after his departure, was explained by the interpreters in a way that helped still more to stimulate his ambition. On his arrival in Italy, he found the people of Transpadane Gaul, (on the side of the Po furthest from Rome,) discontented with the bare privileges of a Latin colony, and anxious for the full rights of Roman citizenship. He went among them for the purpose of working on these feelings; and he would have led them to some strong movement, if the consuls had

not purposely kept in Italy, the legions which had been raised for an expedition against Mithridates in Cilicia.

The activity of Cæsar soon brought him under a suspicion of having conspired with Crassus, P. Sulla, and L. Autronius, to rise up in the senate, to kill the consuls, to make Crassus, dictator, Cæsar, master of the horse, and Sulla and Autronius, consuls, of a republic to be moulded by themselves. Several ancient writers mention this conspiracy. Cicero is thought to refer to it in an epistle to Axius, where he says, "Cæsar, in his consulate, established himself in that power which he had meditated as ædile."

He was also accused of having entered into a plot with Cn. Piso, a young man of well-known factious character, in which it was agreed between them that Piso should use his influence in Spain, and Cæsar in Italy and at Rome, to overturn the existing government. Piso was put to death by the Spaniards. Whether these suspicions were well grounded or not, can now be no more than matter of opinion. They did not weaken Cæsar's popularity. He was appointed ædile. It belonged to this office to superintend the public buildings, the markets,

and especially the games and amusements given to the Roman people. Cæsar discharged the office with a magnificence unknown before. He adorned the amphitheatre for the first time with silver, and erected temporary porticoes in front of the public halls, the forum, and the capitol. To the ordinary games he added hunts of wild beasts in the circus.

Some of these amusements were provided at his expense, and some of them at the joint expense of himself and his colleague in office, M. Bibulus: the credit of the whole was given by the people to Cæsar. In so many ways did Cæsar cast his colleague into the shade, that Bibulus confessed with some pleasantry as well as bitterness, that "his lot was like that of Pollux, who, though the temple built by the public was for the honour of the twin brothers, he had been quite forgotten, for the temple was always called after Castor." We shall see, hereafter, how greatly Cæsar differed from Bibulus, and what enmity they displayed to each other.

The uniform plan of Cæsar was still pursued by him, of availing himself of the office which he held, to increase his influence with the people for the furtherance of his grand scheme.

He exhibited shows of fighting gladiators. He had prepared an extraordinary number of pairs of combatants, but an alarm being spread abroad that he intended these men for other purposes, he was obliged to restrict himself within the numbers limited by law.

Having gained the increasing favour of the people, he now proceeded to a measure highly illustrative of his character. During the night, he placed in the capitol the statues of Marius, and the trophies and standards inscribed with the victories of that general over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutones, which Sulla had treated with dishonour. At daylight, the beauty of these monuments, which were of rare workmanship, and glittering with gold, attracted great crowds, and all men were struck with the boldness of an act, of which the author could not but be instantly recognised. There were those who looked at it in the light of an attempt to restore, by private authority, the honours which had been abolished by a formal decree of the senate. They said, "Here is Cæsar preparing his road to tyranny. He is trying how much we will bear: if he succeed, he will be emboldened to greater and more dangerous experiments." But the party of

Marius rallied. Cheered by an event so grateful, yet so little looked for, they came together from all parts in such numbers, that they appalled their enemies, who had imagined, because they did not show themselves, that they were extinct. They filled the capitol and made its vaults ring with their shouts. Not a few wept at the sight of these exciting memorials of the tyranny of Sulla. Cæsar was laden with "golden opinions," as the only man in Rome worthy of the party of Marius.

The matter was warmly debated in the senate. Catulus said, with much gravity and justice, "It is time, fathers, that we consult for our own safety. Cæsar no longer seeks to undermine the republic, he openly attacks it." Cæsar, however, rose in the senate, and by his powerful and graceful eloquence, not only effaced the impression produced by the warnings of Catulus, but even won for himself the applauses of the senate. Cæsar had hoped to turn his popularity to advantage by obtaining a public appointment of an extraordinary command in Egypt. There were troubles in that country connected with the succession to the throne of the Ptolemies. Intelligence had reached Rome that Ptolemy Alexander at his

death had bequeathed all his rights of succession in Egypt and Cyprus to the guardianship of the Roman people, and it appears Cæsar's object was to enforce that claim upon the Egyptians. Without entering on a question now disputed among historians, it is enough to say, in this place, that Cæsar's proposal was supported by Crassus, at that time censor, but opposed by Catulus, the other censor, and by many of the leading men in Rome, so that he eventually failed in his wishes. But his failure increased his hatred of the patrician party. His ædileship having expired, he undertook the office of one of the subordinate judges, appointed to try certain causes of murder. He seems to have undertaken this office for the express purpose of punishing those who had taken away the lives of citizens proscribed by Sulla, but who, by the laws of Sulla, were exempt from punishment. His condemnation of these men was hailed by the people, as destroying the last traces of a hated tyranny. But, while less distinguished criminals were cut off, *Catiline was spared.*

Disappointed in his Egyptian project, Cæsar aspired to the dignity of chief pon-

tiff,* an office which was not magisterial, but was concerned in the solemnities of religion. It was held for life—Metullus Pius, the former chief pontiff, had lately died.

This office was not secured by Cæsar without excessive bribery. Relying on the wealth he had borrowed for this purpose, when he was going down in the morning to the place of election, he said to his mother, who wept in taking leave of him, "This day your son returns home as pontiff, or as an exile." His competitors were Catulus, chief of the Sullan party, and Isauricus, under whom Cæsar had formerly served—both of them very powerful men, his superiors in age and in rank; but his victory over them was so entire, that he gained more votes in their tribes than they gained in all.

Cæsar was made prætor, or chief civil magistrate, in the city of Rome, in the same year in which Cato was a tribune. The elegant Latin historian, Sallust, has, with a partial hand, drawn a portrait of them from the life, which must suffer by translation. "Nearly

* The pontiff, (*pontifex*,) as the name imports, was anciently an officer who had the care of building bridges; but his duties were gradually enlarged till they embraced the charge of temples, and all the ceremonies of religion.

on a level in birth, age, and eloquence, they were equal in greatness of mind and in glory, though in different respects: Cæsar was admired for his generosity and munificence: Cato for the consistency of his life. The one was rendered illustrious by his gentleness and clemency: severity had added dignity to the other. Cæsar obtained glory by giving, relieving, pardoning: Cato by never showing favour. In the one the wretched found a friend, in the other the wicked found a chastiser. We praise the blandness of the first, the firmness of the second. Finally, Cæsar had braced up his mind to watching—to toil; intent on the interests of his friends, he neglected his own: he refused nothing which it was worthy of himself to give; for himself he desired extensive command of an army, a new war, where courage could shine forth. On the contrary, Cato was studious of modesty, of decorum, but in the highest degree, of severity. He did not vie with the rich in wealth, nor with the factious in faction; but with the earnest in courage, with the modest in chastity, with the blameless in self-denial: he would rather be, than seem to be, a good man; so that the less he sought glory, the more he obtained it."

Through the surface of Cæsar's character, here so beautifully painted, we see the bad principles which darken his whole life: never, surely, was there a more immoral man, or a more dangerous citizen.

The prætorship of Cæsar was marked by several of the most striking events in his personal history. The conspiracy of Catiline having been detected by Cicero, the senate was deliberating, at the time when Cæsar was the prætor elect, on the punishment to be inflicted on Cethegus and Lentulus, whom Catiline had left in the city. The votes were for death: the speech of Cæsar on this occasion is preserved by Sallust.

Here is the substance of it:—

"It behoves all men, conscript fathers, in deliberating on arduous questions, to lay aside all feelings, whether of revenge or pity: the mind clouded by these passions cannot see the truth. I could illustrate this by examples of various kings and states; but I prefer choosing them from among our fathers. In pardoning the treacherous Rhodians, and in forbearing to retaliate the insults of the Carthaginians, they did what they believed to be worthy of themselves.

"In like manner ought you now to think more of your own honour, than of the wickedness of these men, and not sacrifice your glory to your resentment. That which in others is passion, is pride or cruelty in men of power. The proposals which have been made are not cruel, indeed, but they are contrary to the spirit of the Roman government.—To the wretched, death is release.—The punishment you inflict may be just; but beware of precedents which may be perverted to base purposes in worse times. The Lacedemonians suffered in the end for the harshness with which they punished the Athenians. The butcheries of Sylla were the natural fruits of the severities inflicted on the enemies of the state after his first success.

"Our ancestors never failed in wisdom or in courage; nor were they ashamed to copy the useful customs of other nations. Pursuing this course, when the commonwealth became great, strong, and factious, they passed the Porcian and other laws, ordaining banishment as the penalty of the highest crimes. It seems to me that we should follow the virtue and wisdom of our greater ancestors, and not adopt any new resolution. 'What,' you will say, 'shall we disperse these conspirators, that they

may recruit the army of Catiline?' No. But my judgment is, that their estates be forfeited; that they be confined separately in the strongest prisons of Italy; and that he who moves the senate in their favour be declared an enemy to the state."

The impression of this speech was destroyed by the austere address of Cato, and the brilliant eloquence of Cicero; and the senators agreed in condemning the conspirators to death. Cæsar persevered in his efforts to save their lives. But an armed guard of Roman knights thrust their swords at him till the senators around him fell back, and he was saved with difficulty by Clodius, who covered him with his mantle. He not only yielded his opposition to the senate, but absented himself from their meetings till the close of the year.

On the first day of his prætorship, he summoned Catulus before the people, to give an account of his expenses in the restoration of the capitol, which had been burned. He charged him with appropriating a portion of the public treasure to his private uses; and he demanded that the name of Catulus should be erased from the front of the capitol, as its restorer; and that the further prosecution of the work should

be committed to the superintendence of Pompey. While Cæsar was urging his demands the chiefs of the senate were paying their respects to the new consuls, by assisting at the ceremony of their inauguration. Tidings of Cæsar's proceedings reached the capitol. Catulus instantly hastened to the place where the people were assembled. He was about to mount the tribune to defend himself, when Cæsar haughtily commanded him to remain below, as an accused criminal. But the senators flocked to the place in such numbers, and so strongly opposed what they regarded as an act of injustice towards the most illustrious man of their body, that Cæsar was compelled to put a stop to the transaction. At that time the tribune, C. Marcellus, was carrying on an active agitation against Cicero and the patrician party. Cæsar made use of this man; and, through him, sought to avail himself of the power of Pompey to promote his own ends. He supported Metellus in a proposal to recall Pompey into Italy, to put an end to the disturbances of the commonwealth. The course pursued both by Metellus and by Cæsar was so offensive to the senate, that they ordered them to be deposed from their offices.

Cæsar persisted, notwithstanding this order, in discharging the duties of the prætorship. But when he found that the senate sent armed men to intercept him by force, he dismissed the lictors, laid aside his official robe, and retired secretly to his house, quietly to abide a change in the temper of the times. The multitude, however, were enraged at his deposition; they flocked to him, offering to help him in the assertion of his dignity. He resisted their offers, and prevailed on them to go home in peace. The senate were taken by surprise. They assembled hastily, tendered him their thanks, through their most distinguished members, annulled their recent sentence against him, restored him to his prætorship, and accompanied him to the senate-house, where they joined in profusely praising him for his magnanimity.

Not long after, Cæsar was publicly named as one of the associates of Catiline in the late conspiracy. L. Vettius charged him with it before Novius Niger, a quæstor. In the senate, the charge was repeated by Curius, to whom a public reward had been decided for helping to quell the conspiracy: he declared that he had his information from Catiline. Vettius even

professed to produce Cæsar's signature given to Catiline.

Cæsar was indignant at the revival of an old report, which he had deemed disposed of, and forgotten. He prevailed on Cicero to acknowledge that Cæsar had, of his own accord, given him information of the designs of Catiline. He succeeded in preventing Curius from receiving his promised reward. His other accuser, Vettius, he threw into prison, after being heavily fined, and almost torn to pieces by the people. And as Novius, the quæstor, had received, in his court, an accusation against his superior in rank and in authority, he imprisoned him for this audacious irregularity.

Clodius was one of the men whose names occur most frequently in the histories of those times; a man who disgraced his birth and his talents by the lowest personal vices, and by the prostitution of his great wealth and eloquence to the worst purposes of sedition.

This Clodius had a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife. Pompeia was closely watched by Cæsar's mother. In the year when Cæsar was prætor, a favourable occasion for their meeting seemed to offer, in the celebration of the mysteries of the Good Goddess, which was

held at Cæsar's house, and attended only by women. The Romans allowed no man—not even the master of the house—to be present at these mysteries: even the pictures and images of men were covered. The night, the absence of men, the music and dancing, and other entertainments, afforded the opportunity for a young female slave of Pompeia to admit Clodius, a beardless youth, disguised as a female musician. The slave left him, to inform her mistress of his arrival. As he was afraid of exciting suspicion by remaining alone, he wandered through the darker parts of the apartments, where he was met by one of Aurelia's slaves, who put some question to him, taking him for a woman. His voice betrayed him; and the affrighted slave ran to the company crying that there was a man in the house. Immediately Aurelia put a stop to the mysteries, veiled the statues and symbols of the divinities, closed the gates, and searched every part of the mansion with torches. Clodius was found in the chamber of the slave who had admitted him. All the women gathered round him and drove him from the house. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia.

Both Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, and Julia, his

sister, related the story. When Cæsar was called upon for his testimony, he replied, with his characteristic caution, that he knew nothing about it. Being asked, "Why, then, have you divorced Pompeia?" he replied in language worthy of a better man, "Because Cæsar's wife should be not only free from crime, but beyond suspicion."

Having fulfilled the term of his prætorship, he was appointed the proconsul in Farther Spain. Before he could depart, he was almost overwhelmed by the debts he had incurred by the luxury and bribery through which he had gained his popularity. In this difficulty, he had recourse to Crassus, the richest man in Rome. Crassus needed Cæsar's power to counterbalance that of Pompey, as much as Cæsar needed the wealth of Crassus to clear him from his embarrassments. Crassus, therefore, satisfied the most clamorous of Cæsar's creditors by giving his own security to an enormous amount. As soon as Cæsar was at liberty, he did not wait for the usual formalities connected with entrance on such a command, but instantly went off, partly from the danger of remaining in a private capacity at Rome, and partly from his desire to be present in the

province, of whose unsettled condition he had been informed. Plutarch relates a circumstance in Cæsar's journey to Spain at this time, which has always been regarded as one of the clearest proofs of the depth and force of his ambition. Crossing the Alps, some of his friends alighted on a retired hamlet, the abode of poor and miserable peasants. They amused themselves by asking one another whether there was room in such hovels for the strife of parties, and the jealousies of rank. Cæsar heard them. He said to them with a grave and serious air, "I would rather be the first man here, than the second at Rome."

On his arrival in Spain, he found the country more tranquil than he had expected, or perhaps wished. War was his object. Dio Cassius, the Greek historian, has detailed the battles and conquests in Gallicia and Lusitania, (Portugal,) by which he enriched himself, and rewarded his soldiers. On the field he was hailed *Imperator*,* by the legions. He then settled the civil affairs of the enlarged province. He returned to Rome, within a year, to demand

* It was the custom of the Roman soldiers to salute their victorious general with this title: it was not a civil or political title, like *Emperor*, but entirely a military honour.

a triumph for his victories in Spain, and at the same time to offer himself as a candidate for the consulate.* On his arrival in Italy, he found himself in this dilemma;—he could not obtain a military triumph unless he remained without the gates of the city; and unless he entered the city, he could not receive the suffrages which were to create him a consul. In this difficulty he requested of the senate that he might ask for the suffrages by means of his friends; and so great was his influence that many of the senators were disposed to gratify him. Cato resisted the proposal with his usual sternness, and to his arguments against it as contrary to usage, and offering a dangerous precedent, he added a curious stratagem: availing himself of the law which forbad the interruption of a senator speaking in his place, he was spinning out his oration till the evening, for the purpose of disconcerting Cæsar. But when Cæsar heard of this, he abandoned the temporary honour of the triumph, and hastened to the city to take his place as a candidate for the rank of consul.

To secure his return, and to establish his

* There were two consuls chosen every year, and the year was dated by their names. They were, for the time being, the heads of the Roman government.

power on a solid foundation, he formed that alliance with Pompey and Crassus which was the real cause of the overthrow of the republic. Pompey and Crassus were, at that time, the greatest public men in Rome. They were at the head of opposing factions, which shook the whole commonwealth. To bring them together would have the appearance of healing a dangerous division in the state, and it would in reality place Cæsar in the most advantageous position for ultimately building his own greatness on the ruin of these powerful rivals. Pompey had waited impatiently for the senate to confirm his acts in the eastern provinces, which he had conquered by his arms. Crassus, who wanted authority and power in the state, proportioned to his riches, was looking for some way in which he could turn to his own account, the reputation of Pompey, and the energy of Cæsar. To both these leaders, Cæsar represented in the strongest terms, that their dissensions could only increase the influence of the enemies of each; but that by uniting with him in a common interest, they might soon have the Roman republic to dispose of at their pleasure. They entered into an agreement that each of the three should support the public measures of

the other two, and that they should take no part in public affairs without consulting their mutual opinions and interests.

While this negotiation was pending the consular election was going on. Cæsar had no doubt of his own success; but he was concerned to have a colleague that might suit his purpose. His competitors were L. Lucceius and M. Bibulus. As M. Bibulus had been the enemy of Cæsar from the time when they served together in the ædileship, Cæsar was anxious that Lucceius should be chosen, a man of shining abilities as an historical writer, but of no great practical reputation. Cæsar had more popularity than Lucceius, and Lucceius had more riches than Cæsar; so it was settled between them that Lucceius should disperse large sums among the tribes to secure their united election.

The leading senators were jealous of the power which would come into Cæsar's hands as consul, when they remembered the use he made of the lower offices he had already filled. As they could not prevent his election, all that remained was to keep him in check by means of an unfriendly colleague. They induced Bibulus to spend in bribery as much as Lucceius,

and united in defraying the expense. By this corrupt and dangerous policy, which even Cato sanctioned, they succeeded; and Cæsar and Bibulus were chosen. For the same reason, the senate took care that the consuls elect should be appointed to superintend the most trivial departments of public business.

Stung by his disappointment, and by the indignity offered him, Cæsar confirmed his agreement with Pompey and Crassus, and entered on his consulate with a firm resolution to be avenged on the senate. We pass over some minor innovations ascribed to him by Suetonius, briefly to sketch the principal measures of the ambitious consul.

The first of these was the proposal, in the senate, of an agrarian law; that is, a law for dividing certain lands, at the public cost, among the poorer citizens. This law had been proposed, in a previous consulate, by Flavius, a tribune of the people. Cæsar urged it on the senate by the most plausible arguments, and answered the objections that might be made to it. He canvassed the senators for their separate opinions. The senators were slowly deliberating on the proposal, when Cæsar pressed them for a decision. Cato opposed him.

Cæsar ordered him to be put in prison. Cato, without uttering a complaint, left the senate, followed by many of the members. Among these was Petreius. Cæsar asked him why he was leaving the place before the assembly broke up. He replied, "because I would rather be with Cato in prison, than with you in the senate." Struck with this high tone, and with the indignation with which men looked at his violence towards Cato, he was afraid of exciting the people against himself, and he sent an officer to set Cato at liberty. Lucullus afterwards resisted him with more boldness; but Cæsar so terrified him by threats of public accusation, that he was forced into the most abject humiliation.

Finding the senate still opposed to his law, he called them to witness the pains he had taken to secure their consent, and then added, "Since you force me to it, I must appeal to the people." He then made the law less palatable to the senate. He used every artifice to gain his colleague's consent to it. Bibulus, refusing to enter on the question of the proposal, simply said that he would oppose every innovation. Cæsar urged him, and exhorted the people to move him by their prayers: "Your satisfac-

tion," he said, "depends on Bibulus; if he consent, you will have this law." Bibulus, addressing the people, said, "Though you should all desire this law, you shall not have it while I am consul;" he then withdrew. Cæsar now turned to Pompey, and asked him his opinion of this law. Pompey spoke in its favour. "Since you approve of it, I ask you," said Cæsar, "will you stand by it, if the enemies should use force to prevent its being carried into effect?" and he called on the people to press Pompey to agree. "If they come with the sword to oppose this law, I will maintain it with sword and shield," was Pompey's answer.

Bibulus, however, did not relax in his opposition. He used all his power as consul; he held meetings with the chief senators in his own house; he submitted to all manner of ill-treatment from the populace; and, in the midst of one of their fiercest tumults, he opened his breast to the armed minions of Cæsar, asking them to strike: "If I cannot teach Cæsar to be a good man, at least let my death bring on him the vengeance of heaven, and make him hateful to all mankind." Cæsar succeeded in carrying the law by the votes of the people.

Bibulus spent the remaining eight months of

his consular year in his own dwelling. Cæsar was thus alone in the consulate. Dio and Suetonius show that he acted as if he had no colleague. The wits of that day often dated, not as usual, by the names of the two consuls, but by the two names, Julius, *and* Cæsar.

Cæsar maintained his ascendency so far as to oblige the senators, and all candidates for offices, to take an oath to maintain the law which he had thus introduced. Cato yielded, at the persuasion of Cicero. Cicero himself describes his difficulties in the third letter of the Second Book of his Epistles to Atticus. While pleading for Antony, he uttered some lamentations on the state of public affairs, and alluded with fear to the power of the triumvirate.* Cæsar was piqued by this allusion. In a few hours after it was made, he helped Clodius to enter the plebeian order, that as a tribune of the people, he might have it in his power to injure Cicero. Alarmed at this, Cicero was silent, and retired to his country villa.

The passing of the agrarian law was soon followed by the distribution of the lands of Capua—the richest in Italy—among twenty-

* Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar.

eight thousand men, each of them the father of three or more children. Having thus established himself in the hearts of the lowest people, Cæsar's next object was to gain over the equestrian order. He took up the application of the collectors of the public revenue in Asia, who had long been seeking, without success, some abatement in the amount of security required from them. He lowered it by one third. Notwithstanding these acts, even those who benefited by them were disgusted with other parts of his public conduct: and they had many opportunities of expressing what they felt.

Cæsar's next measure was to comfirm the acts of Pompey's administration in the east. He then distributed provincial governments among his supporters. He procured for himself, through the influence of the tribune Valerius with the people, the command of Cisalpine Gaul, and of Illyricum, with three legions, for five years.

His victory over the senate was made more complete, by his forcing them to appoint him the pro-consul also of Transalpine Gaul, with one legion, on the death of Metellus Celer. The consent of the senate to these appointments was so much against their will, that the

greater part of them absented themselves. Cæsar was one day complaining of this: Q. Considius, a venerable member who was present, said that the reason of their absence was their dread of Cæsar's arms and soldiers; "Then," said Cæsar, "why does not the same dread keep you away?" "Because," replied Considius, "the remnant of *my* life is unworthy of my care."

Cæsar strengthened himself in these circumstances, by alliance with the kings of the Suevi, and with Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, from the latter of whom he took in his own name, and that of Pompey, twenty talents of gold, as the price of his protection. He also took from the capitol three thousand pounds weight of gold, and replaced it by the same weight of gilded brass.

Before his departure for Gaul, he laid several schemes for securing his interests at Rome, in his absence. He so undermined the popularity of Cicero, that he procured his banishment from the city. He contrived also to have Cato sent away on a special mission to Cyprus. He gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey, and paid him the particular kind of honour and precedence which he had

before paid to Crassus. He married Calphurnia, daughter of Piso, whom Pompey and Crassus had agreed with himself in appointing to the consulate, along with Gabinius, a flatterer of Pompey, in the following year. Cæsar was so elated with his success in opposition to the senate, that he boasted of it with many indecencies, both of language and of conduct, which Suetonius has detailed, but which cannot here be mentioned.

When his consular year expired, Mammius and Domitius, prætors, required him to render an account of his proceedings. During three days of angry quarrelling with these prætors, he succeeded in refusing their demand. His quæstor was arrested. He was himself publicly accused by L. Antistius, one of the tribunes, but by appealing to the other tribunes for the benefit of a law suspending the prosecution of persons absent on the public service, he escaped, and set out for Gaul.

CHAPTER II.

Gaul described—People—Nobles—Druids—Manners—Campaigns of Cæsar—Invasion of Britain—Reflections of Plutarch—Schemes of Cæsar.

In the time of Cæsar, Gaul was separated into two great divisions, Cisalpine, and Transalpine. Cisalpine Gaul included all the countries between the Alps on the Italian side, and the river Po, together with the district reaching from a few miles west of the junction of the Trebia with the Po, to the river Frumencino, and falling into the gulf of Venice between Ravenna and Rimini, and bounded on the south by the Apennines. Transalpine Gaul extended from the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine, to the Bay of Biscay, on the west, and the British Channel on the north, including Switzerland, France, and Belgium. Long before the time of Cæsar, the Romans had conquered that part of Gaul now called Languedoc, and had made it a Roman province.

This province formed one of the four parts into which Gaul was divided; the other three were the Celtic, between the Garonne and the Seine; Aquitanian, limited by the Loire, the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean; and the Belgian, nearly corresponding to the modern kingdom of Belgium with Holland as far as the Rhine. Of these nations, the Aquitanians, in some respects, resembled the Spaniards. The Celts were enriched, and, in a small degree, refined, by commerce. The Belgians, being near the Germans, were continually at war. Their distance from the Roman province preserved their natural ferocity; and they are described by Cæsar as the bravest of the Gauls. They gave their name to the entire nation.

The common people of Gaul were in a state differing little from slavery. The nobles were mostly engaged in wars, in which they employed poorer men as vassals, or as paid soldiers. The Druids presided in the affairs of religion, education, and justice; and celebrated the events of their history in verse. They were presided over by one chief Druid. Cæsar says, that this institution passed into Gaul from Britain; and it was usual for the Gaulish Druids to study its rules in Britain. Their

exemption from military service, and their very great influence in the nation, induced many to join them, or to send their children to be embodied with them. They used no letters in recording their laws, but spent years in committing them to memory. They taught many doctrines respecting the motions of the stars, nature, and the gods. They stimulated their heroes by the belief that their souls passed at death into other bodies. They were strongly addicted to superstition. Living men were sacrificed by putting them into a gigantic image of a man formed of twigs, to which they set fire.

Little attention was paid by the Gauls to the culture of their lands. They lived principally on milk, and the flesh of wild beasts. All their habits were hardy, some of them barbarous. They were valiant and frank, yet fickle, and wanting in perseverance and patient toil. They dreaded labour more than danger. They adorned their tall and stately persons with a profusion of golden ornaments. Like many other ancient nations they began the day at sunset. Cæsar gives an account of some of their domestic usages. A son was never seen in his father's presence, till he was old enough to

carry arms. In marriage, their nobles were not confined to one wife. The husband added an equal sum to the wife's portion, which became their joint property in life, and went, at death, to the survivor. The men had the power of life and death over their wives and children. The funerals of the rich were celebrated with great pomp. The bodies of the dead were burned, together with some of their most precious personal property; and, anciently, their slaves and dependents were cast into the flames. It was this great and warlike nation that Cæsar undertook to subdue.

Soon after Cæsar entered on the government of Gaul, he learned that the Helvetii, or Swiss, headed by Orgetorix, had long ago formed a confederacy to pass from their narrow confines between Mount Jura (St. Claude) and the lake of Geneva, to come down upon the plains, and take possession of the whole of Gaul. To resist this invasion, Cæsar made every exertion, and at length vanquished them with dreadful slaughter, in which they lost nearly two hundred thousand men. Those who survived, amounting to a hundred and ten thousand, he forced to return to their own country, and rebuild the cities and villages they had destroyed,

lest the vacant lands should tempt the Germans to cross the Rhine to take possession of them.

After this victory, the Gauls complained to Cæsar that the Germans had been called in by a large faction; that thousands of these Germans had passed the Rhine, and settled in the most fruitful parts of the land; and that Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, was acting with such tyrannic cruelty towards the Gauls, that if the Romans did not help to drive them out as they had driven the Helvetii, the people would be obliged to forsake their native region, and wander through the world in search of a home. Cæsar sent embassies to Ariovistus; but he defied him. A great battle was fought about forty miles from the Rhine. The Germans were put to flight by Cæsar. Some of them swam through the river; others, among whom was the king, escaped in boats; the rest were cut to pieces. In this flight, the two wives of the German king, and one of his daughters, perished, and another of his daughters was taken prisoner.

These two great wars being over, Cæsar sent his troops to winter quarters, and went to the Italian side of the Alps to hold an assembly of the states in that part of his province. During

the winter, he was informed that a league against the Romans was made by the people of the low countries, the Belgæ. Early in the spring, therefore, he came against them with his legions, and drove them before him in such numbers, that his soldiers passed over marshes and rivers on bridges made of the bodies of the slain. He then marched against several other nations, who soon submitted to him.

The Nervii (people of Cambray) were a remarkable people. They kept themselves aloof from every kind of luxury, maintained a warlike spirit, upbraided their neighbours for submitting to the Romans, and determined to give Cæsar battle. They concealed themselves among the woods and rocks that overhung the banks of the river opposite Cæsar's camp. From this ambush they rushed down upon the Romans with such force and so suddenly, that it required all the abilities of Cæsar, aided by his generals and his soldiers, even to check them by desperate fighting, in which Cæsar himself set his soldiers an example of the greatest bravery. The battle raged with great fury. The Nervii mounted the bodies of their fallen companions, and, as from a rampart, cast their darts on the Romans, and even

hurled back their own heavy javelins against them. But new legions came from the rear of the Roman army; this put new life into the soldiers lying on the earth covered with wounds, who now rose up, and leaning on their shields, began to fight again; and the cavalry coming up at the time of their greatest distress, the Nervii were all cut off. Of six hundred senators, only three were left; and of sixty thousand warriors, only five hundred!

In the country now inhabited by the Tongres in Brabant, there was then a tribe called the Atuatuci, descended from the Teutones and Cimbri, or ancient Germans, who had been left there to guard the baggage of their army, when their fellow-countrymen marched across the Alps to Italy. These people were hastening to join the Nervii; but hearing of their destruction by Cæsar, they returned, and, leaving their towns and castles, betook themselves to a place of great strength, surrounded by high rocks and precipices, and approached only by a rising ground, and more than two hundred feet wide: on this steep they raised a double wall of great height, covered with large stones and pointed timbers. From this stronghold they often came out and attacked straggling parties of the

Roman soldiers. But Cæsar made them keep within their walls, by raising a rampart, twelve feet high, and fifteen miles in circumference, well guarded by towers. At first they ridiculed the engines of attack which they saw the Romans preparing at a distance; but when they saw them approach, they took the alarm, and begged for peace. Cæsar granted this on condition that they would give up their arms. They pretended to accept of the condition, and threw so many arms into the ditch in front of their fortress, that they reached nearly to the top of the wall. At night they rushed out on the Romans, and attacked them, but they were overpowered; and the next day Cæsar took the place, and sold the inhabitants, to the number of fifty-three thousand, for slaves.

Other districts of Gaul lying near the sea were subdued at the same time by one of the legions commanded by P. Crassus. The whole of Gaul was now subjected to the Romans. The nations beyond the Rhine sent ambassadors to treat with Cæsar; but as he was in haste to return to Italy, he put them off till the next spring. On account of these victories a public thanksgiving and rejoicing of fifteen days, was ordered by the senate, at Rome. It

would require a longer history than we can now give to describe the revolts and the battles of the following year.

But there is one part of Cæsar's exploits so different from those which have been given, that it must not be quite passed over. The Venetians were so situated, that they could be attacked by land only at low water; and ships were in danger of being dashed to pieces against the shoals and sand-banks: their own ships being built to suit this situation. For a whole summer they baffled all Cæsar's attempts, which were further hindered by storms, and by the difficult navigation of the gulf, which appeared to Cæsar as a vast ocean. But when the Roman fleet, which was commanded by Brutus, arrived, the Roman sailors cut the sails and the rigging of the Venetian ships with scythes fastened to the end of long poles, and fought with such courage in the presence of Cæsar and the army, on the adjoining hills, that the Venetian ships, locked in a dead calm, were easily taken one by one, so that very few of the men escaped to land, under cover of the approaching night. This battle, which lasted from nine in the morning till sunset, put an end to the war on that coast. The fleets were taken, the spirit

of the people was broken, and they were obliged to throw themselves on the mercy of their conqueror. To punish them for their revolt, and to terrify the other Gauls, he put their senators to death, and sold the rest as slaves. All the nations from the Mediterranean to the coasts opposite Britain were thus subdued.

The Gauls, however, were restive under the yoke of Rome. They encouraged the most warlike of the German tribes occupying the neighbourhood of the Rhine to come into their country. Cæsar, foreseeing the effects of these German settlements in Gaul, marched against them. As he approached, the Germans sent ambassadors, to whose proposals Cæsar would not yield: a battle was fought, after which Cæsar determined to lose no time in coming to a decisive action. They met near the confluence of the Meuse with the Rhine; the greater part of the Germans were slain, and the remainder perished in attempting to escape across the river. Cæsar now resolved to carry his arms into Germany. In ten days he constructed a bridge of great strength, over which he led his army, and, burning houses and villages, and cutting down the corn standing in the fields, marched into the territories of

the Ubii, in the neighbourhood of Cologne. After spending eighteen days in giving peace to the people of that country, and spreading alarm through the German tribes beyond them, he recrossed the Rhine, and destroyed the bridge.

During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, he was told that his enemies had always received much help from Britain. He sought information respecting the island, from the merchants who visited it; but this information was so scanty, that he sent one of his generals to survey the country. It may be well, here, to give a short description of the inhabitants of Britain at that time. Most of them had passed from Belgium and other parts of Gaul, not a great while before Cæsar's time. Appian says that it contained four hundred nations. Cæsar mentions four kings in Kent. The principal of these nations were the following:—

1. The Damnonii, inhabiting Cornwall and Devon. 2. The Durotiges, in Dorsetshire. 3. The Belgæ, in Somersetshire and Hampshire. 4. The Bibroci, from Bibracte, in Gaul, in Berkshire. 5. The Atrebates, partly in Berkshire, and partly in Oxfordshire. 6. The Ancalites, in the pasture lands of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. 7. The Regni, in Surrey

and Sussex. 8. The Cantii, (from a word meaning corner,) in Kent, spoken of by Cæsar as being the most civilized of all the Britons. 9. The Trinobantes, in Essex, Middlesex, and part of Surrey. Here was the city called Trinow, the same with London. 10. The Cattivellanni, or Cattii, in Hertford, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire; Verulam, now St. Albans, being the capital. 11. The Boduni, in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. 12. The Iceni, in Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. 13. The Coritani, or Coriceni, in Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire. 14. The Cornavii, in Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire. 15. The Silures, in Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, and in the South Welsh counties of Radnor, Brecknock, and Glamorgan. 16. The Demetæ, in Camarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and Cardiganshire. 17. The Ordovices in North Wales. 18. The Parisi, in the eastern part of Yorkshire. 19. The Brigantes, "the most numerous, powerful, and ancient of the British nations," in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. 20. The Otidini, in Northumber-

land, Merse, and the Lothians in Scotland. 21. The Gadeni, in the mountains of Northumberland, and in Teviot-dale. 22. The Selgovæ, Novantæ, Damnii, and a great many other nations, in different parts of Scotland.

The whole population was less than the present population of London. These various nations had different laws and customs; and they lived in such jealousy of one another, that they could never join under one head, or even band together for their common safety. They were in a state not much unlike that of the New Zealanders of the present day. The Britons were informed by the Gaulish merchants of Cæsar's design, and they sent ambassadors to offer a peaceful submission. Cæsar sent them back with good words. When the general he had sent to survey the island returned, Cæsar sailed with a small fleet at one o'clock in the morning, and in nine hours he approached the cliffs of Dover, which he found covered with armed men; and because the place was not convenient for landing, he sailed about eight miles further to the open shore of Deal. The Britons were at first daunted by the sight of the Roman gallies, and engines of war; but they stood with their horses in the water to

resist the invaders. The Roman soldiers hesitated to plunge into the waves, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped from a ship, and, rushing with his eagle against the Britons, cried out, "Comrades, follow me, or betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the enemy: I am resolved to do my duty to Cæsar and to Rome." Fired by this example, the Romans jumped into the sea, and after long and hard fighting in the water, at last landed on the shore. The inhabitants were forced to submit, and to give hostages.

On the fourth day after Cæsar's landing, his cavalry sailed from Gaul, but they were scattered by a storm. At the same time the high tides at the full moon, which the Romans it seems were not aware of, filled the galleys that were drawn up on the strand, and damaged the transports lying at anchor. The Britons seeing the distress of the Romans rallied their forces, but they were defeated in two actions; yet they obtained an easy peace, as Cæsar was in haste to return before winter.

In the following year, in May or June, Cæsar went a second time to Britain, with a large fleet and a powerful army. The people retired into the interior. He immediately set out in

pursuit of them, and found them on a rising ground, behind a river, said to be the Stour, in Kent. They tried to prevent the Romans from crossing the river, but not succeeding in this, they fell back on a fortress in the neighbouring woods near Canterbury. The Romans drove them from this place; but early the next morning, as they were following the Britons, Cæsar was called away to the coast by news of a dreadful storm in the night that had nearly destroyed his fleet. In ten days he repaired his damaged ships; then he resumed the pursuit. Meantime the Britons were not idle. They increased their army. They chose Cassivelaunus, chief of the Cassi, (in Herefordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire,) for their leader, a man of great valour and experience. On the first check from the Romans, however, the union of the Britons was dissolved, and their leader went home to defend his own territory. Cæsar found him on the banks of the Thames, (at Covey Stakes.) The Romans forded the river, though sharp stakes were driven into the bottom, and it was so deep that only their heads were above water. The astonished and terrified Britons fled from the place. Cæsar soon made himself master of the little village which formed the

capital of his enemy, (St. Albans,) and of the prisoners and the booty. Cassivelaunus made an unsuccessful attack, helped by the people of Kent, on Cæsar's naval camp; at length he sought peace, which he obtained on favourable terms, as Cæsar was tired of the war, and eager to return to Gaul.

From Cæsar's own account it does not appear that his invasion of Britain brought him any glory or advantage compared with the toils and losses which it cost him. Dio says, "Cæsar gained nothing either to himself or to his country, but the glory of having fought in Britain." Quintus Cicero was one of Cæsar's generals in Gaul. In a letter to Tullius Cicero, his brother, he says, "The affairs in Britain afford small occasion for either fear or joy."

Cæsar carried on his campaigns in Gaul with so much ardour, that, at one time, the senate had resolved on sending commissioners to investigate the state of affairs; and some even to suggest that it would be necessary to abandon him to the enemy. But he was so successful, that there were more frequent and longer rejoicings at Rome, for his victories, than for any former general. In nine years he reduced all the nations of that wide and fertile country into

a Roman province, and drew from it an annual revenue which has been reckoned at four millions sterling.

× The reflections of Plutarch on these wars will afford more entertainment than a bare outline of battles, and a list of names.

"Here Cæsar begins a new life. As a general, he was not inferior to the greatest Roman commanders that had preceded him. Compared with the Fabii, the Scipios, with Sulla, the Marii, the Luculli, or with Pompey, Cæsar excelled them all—one in the difficulties he overcame, another in the breadth of country he conquered; one in the number and force, another in the savageness and treachery of the people he subdued; one in his clemency to his prisoners, another in his munificence to his soldiers; and all, in the number of his engagements: for he took eight hundred cities; conquered three hundred nations; fought pitched battles, at separate times, with three millions of men; took one million prisoners, and killed another million on the field." ×

By these achievements, Cæsar was steadily increasing his reputation at Rome. He was also training a body of soldiers strongly attached to himself, and prepared by discipline

and experience to accomplish any orders he might give them. In his absence from Rome, he was constantly employing the means which his conquests gave him of bringing the annual magistrates of Rome under obligations to him. He engaged them to support only such men as would forward his interest. When he had been three years in Gaul, Domitius, who was a candidate for the consulate, was heard to declare, that if he were chosen he would deprive Cæsar of his command in Gaul. Cæsar repaired to Lucca, an Italian city in his province, where amidst crowds of distinguished men from Rome Pompey and Crassus met him. In his interview with them, he persuaded them to do all in their power to check Domitius. On their return, they defeated Domitius.

Crassus went to Syria; Pompey, who governed Spain by his lieutenants, remained in the neighbourhood of Rome. Cæsar's command in Gaul, instead of being abridged, was lengthened to five years more. This success emboldened him to add to the legions he had received from the senate, and two legions which Pompey had lent him—another, supported at his private cost, from among the Transalpine Gauls, consisting of men whom he had trained

in the Roman discipline, and honoured with the dignity of Roman citizens.

The death of Julia and of her child broke the strongest tie that bound Pompey to Cæsar; and the death of Crassus, in a war he was waging with the Parthians, weakened their political connexion. Pompey could not see without jealousy and fear the rising fame and power of Cæsar. The arts by which he had helped Cæsar to rise, he now began to use against him. Pompey was unquestionably the first man in Rome. For a long time, he had kept this position by the skilful management of the people on the one hand, and of the senate on the other. But on entering his third consulate, he had sought mainly to render himself acceptable to the senate. This body was hateful to Cæsar, and their experience had taught them to dread him. Cæsar was unwilling to encounter the senate, swayed by Pompey, without a counteracting power both in his soldiers and among the people. He laid himself out to gain such a power. As the time drew near for resigning his province, and returning as a private citizen to seek the consulate a second time, the senate had been induced, by recent tumults in the city, to resolve on calling Pompey to become

sole consul. Cæsar wrote to the tribunes, to stir up the people on his own behalf. He left no means of bribery untried. He began to rebuild the Forum by the rich spoils of the Gallic wars. He celebrated the funeral of his daughter—a new ceremony—with unheard of splendour. He filled private houses as well as public tables with preparations for a general feast. Young gladiators fought under the direction of knights and senators skilled in arms. He distributed corn without stint or measure. By means of his prodigious wealth he doubled the constant pay of his legions, and bought over a great part of the senate. He became the ready helper of debtors, of young men who had wasted their estates, and of those who were charged with public crimes: to those whose circumstances were too desperate for him to help them, he openly said, "There *must* be a civil war." He gained to his side kings and provinces, bribing some by thousands of captives, some by offering any help they might need, and others by adorning their cities with the most useful works or stately structures. Men in general were astounded. They asked, Cato especially, "To what does all this tend?"

Marcellus the consul issued an edict declar-

ing that Cæsar was grasping at the whole power of the state, and recommending to the senate, that as the war in Gaul was finished, the conquering army should be dismissed. He urged, too, that a successor to Cæsar should be immediately appointed in the government of that province; that he should not be chosen consul in his absence; and that the colonies admitted to citizenship without the authority of the senate should be renounced. Cæsar was enraged. With all his might he resented these proposals. By his bribery he secured some of the tribunes, and Sulpicius, the colleague of Marcellus in the consulate. He afterwards paid an immense sum for the influence of Æmilius Paulus, another consul; and of Curio, the most distinguished of the tribunes. When he saw that, notwithstanding his prodigious efforts, the consuls were chosen from the party attached to Pompey, he had recourse to the senate. He wrote letters intreating that he might not be deprived of the privilege which the Roman people had granted to him, of seeking the consulate without disbanding his army. When he failed in this, he wrote again, offering to give up his command, if other commanders—Pompey, especially—would do the same. He then

proposed to retain only Cisalpine Gaul, with two legions, or even Illyricum with only one legion, till he should be chosen consul. All his proposals were rejected. He then passed over to Ravenna, to watch the efforts made on his behalf at Rome, by Curio, Antony, and Cassius, the tribunes of the people. The tribunes fled from Rome in the disguise of slaves, to Cæsar's camp, with the intelligence that none of his proposals were accepted; and that the senate had deprived them of their rightful power to interfere.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Ravenna—The Rubicon—Terror at Rome—Flight of Pompey—Cato—Cæsar's conquests in Italy—Siege of Brindisi—Pompey's escape to Greece—Cæsar at Rome—Spain—Marseilles—Mutiny—Second consulate—Dictator—Following Pompey to Greece—Battle of Pharsalia—Bold adventure—Death of Pompey—Cæsar weeping at the sight of Pompey's head.

Cæsar summoned his officers to a council. He gave secret orders to his cohorts to march towards the boundary of his province. To prevent suspicion, he appeared to be absorbed in studying the models and plans of intended public spectacles. Contrary to his usual habits, he appeared in the evening at entertainments. At sunset he yoked some mules that were at hand to his carriage, and made a sudden journey, attended by only a few followers. Their torches went out, and, losing their way, they wandered all night. At daybreak they found their guide; and, travelling on foot through very narrow lanes, they followed the cohorts to the Rubicon.

Cæsar stood on the banks of the river. His mind was filled with the thought of the great enterprise before him. On the one hand, were all the risks and horrors of a civil war. On the other, there was his danger, should he return to Rome as a private citizen, and of the triumph of Pompey, if he failed.

We may well imagine the awful genius of Rome standing before him to prevent a step fatal to the liberties of his country. "Even now," he said to his friends, "we might turn back; but if once we cross the little bridge we are committed." Suetonius mentions a strange omen that happened as he was lingering. A man of slender form and low stature suddenly appeared, playing on a reed. The shepherds and many of the soldiers running to hear him, he seized a horn from one of the trumpeters, leaped into the stream, and blowing a loud blast, crossed over to the opposite bank. "We must go," cried Cæsar, "where we are called by the signals of the gods, and by the injustice of our enemies: the die is cast." He crossed the Rubicon—which was forbidden* by the laws of the

* The Rubicon was the boundary of Cæsar's government, and the senate had decreed that if he passed that river with his army, he should be regarded as an enemy to the commonwealth. The

senate—accompanied by Cassius, Antony, and Curio. He addressed his soldiers with the most passionate eloquence, weeping, tearing open his breast, pointing to the fugitive tribunes, and calling on them to stand by him. He marched to Rimini, the first city of Italy beyond the limits of his province. There his soldiers renewed their oaths of devotion to his cause. The taking of Rimini was soon reported at Rome, where the greatest terror was awakened, and spread through every part of Italy. The people imagined that Cæsar was at the gates with ten Roman legions and crowds of troops from among the Gauls and the Germans. Pompey had a larger force than Cæsar; but harassed by the reproaches which assailed him on all sides, by his own reflections, and by the general alarm, he made up his mind to abandon Rome, and to betake himself to his powerful auxiliaries

Pisatello, and the Rugone, neighbouring streams, have both been claimed as the ancient Rubicon. Mr. Eustace, in his Classical Tour in Italy, says, "The river which Cæsar passed was not the Pisatello, nor the Rugone, but that which is formed by the three streams united, and now called the Fiumecino. There were, therefore, two passages over the Rubicon anciently, the one by the Via Emilia, over a bridge, at a point where the rivers unite; the other about a mile lower down, or nearer the sea, on the direct road from Ravenna to Rimini: this latter, then, was the passage, and here was the celebrated spot where Cæser stood."—vol. i.

in the east. He directed the senators to follow him, declaring that every man that remained must be regarded as taking part with Cæsar. The most illustrious men of Rome accompanied Pompey, and even some of those who were attached to Cæsar. Cato alone adhered to the republic. He wore the signs and habiliments of mourning. Some offers of negotiation for peace passed between Pompey and Cæsar, but without good faith on either side, and without success. Labienus, one of Cæsar's greatest generals, abandoned him, and joined Pompey; Cæsar took possession of Pesaro, Ancona, Arezzo, and other cities of Tuscany, and drove the partizans of Pompey out of Picenum, Umbria, and Etruria. Domitius, who had been appointed to succeed Cæsar in his province, was summoned by Pompey to his aid in Capua; but he had occupied Corfinium, (Pelino,) with the view of checking the progress of Cæsar. Cæsar besieged him, and compelled him to surrender; and showed his clemency by pardoning him, together with Lentulus, another of his enemies, who had taken refuge in Corfinium.

In the epistles of Cicero to Atticus there is a letter from Cæsar to Appius, one of his

friends, which shows his feelings on this occasion :—"I rejoice in the approbation which your letters express of my conduct at Corfinium. Let us endeavour by such means, if we can, to gain the good-will of all parties, and to insure a lasting victory; since other conquerors could not by their cruelty escape the hatred of mankind, nor long enjoy their conquests, with the exception of Sulla—whom I am not going to imitate. In conquering after a new fashion, let us fortify ourselves by showing mercy and generosity." In a letter of Cæsar to Cicero, we find that the men who thus owed their lives to his generosity soon took up arms against him. "I rejoice triumphantly," he says to Cicero, "that you applaud what I did in sparing these men; nor am I moved by their ingratitude: for there is nothing I like better than that both they and I should act in our true character."

Cæsar followed Pompey to Brindisi, an Italian seaport on the Adriatic, where it was usual to take ship for Greece. On his route, he took prisoner an officer of engineers in Pompey's army, whom he sent to Pompey with proposals for meeting, with a view to peace. These proposals were rejected. Cæsar then laid siege to Brindisi; but Pompey

escaped by sea. As Cæsar was wanting in ships to follow Pompey to Greece, he determined to go to Spain, to attack the legions left there by Pompey under the charge of Afranius and Petreius, his lieutenants. He sent Valerius to Sardinia, the great storehouse of corn for Italy, and Curio to Sicily, and from thence into Africa. He also took effectual measures for guarding the frontiers of Italy. Before executing his plan in Spain, he went to Rome. On this journey he visited Cicero, and endeavoured to persuade the orator to accompany him, and to support him by his influence in the senate. Cicero refused, and went to Pompey's camp.

On Cæsar's arrival at Rome, where the tumult occasioned by the departure of Pompey was already subsiding, business was settling down into the usual course. Some of the principal senators had returned. Cæsar represented his own cause in the most favourable light. He called on the senate to join him in administering the public affairs; but added, that if they were afraid of the responsibility, he would undertake it by himself. He likewise harangued the people, promising them large supplies of corn, and distribution of money.

As he needed money to carry on his enterprises, he approached the capitol to take possession of the public treasures. Metellus endeavoured to prevent him, by reminding him that such an act was forbidden by the laws. "It is idle," said Cæsar, "to speak of laws to armed men. I am master, not only of these treasures, but of the lives of all those whom I have conquered." The bold tribune told him that the consuls had taken away the keys of the treasury; and that the authority of his office warranted him in preventing the use of force to open it. Cæsar threatened that if he resisted, he would kill him on the spot; "And remember, young man," he added, "it is a harder thing for me to say this than to do it."

After long and varied contests, in which Cæsar had many occasions for displaying both his valour and his clemency, he vanquished the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. He returned to complete the siege of Marseilles, which had closed its gates against him, and forced them to yield. In his absence from Rome, he had been appointed dictator, in defiance of the ancient usages and laws of Rome. On his way to Rome, at Placenza, he

found the ninth legion, which he had sent before him, in a state of mutiny; but he addressed them in such a tone of authority, that they asked pardon with tears. He forgave them, but not without punishing the ringleaders with death. He then ordered all his troops to Brindisi, to embark for Greece, while he repaired to Rome to enter on his new office. He was chosen consul for the following year. As dictator, he appointed the several magistrates of the city; made laws in favour of debtors; recalled exiles from their banishment; and repealed the decrees by which Sulla had proscribed his enemies. All this was the work of eleven days. He then laid down his office, and went to Brindisi. From thence he passed with such of his troops as were ready to Durazzo, on the opposite coast of Greece. On his arrival, he despatched orders to his lieutenants to hasten the remaining troops; and while he was waiting for their approach, he made fresh overtures of peace to Pompey, which were indignantly rejected. In his impatience for the arrival of the forces from Italy, which he suspected had been delayed by the fear of the officers, Cæsar ventured on one of those actions which are admired for their

boldness, though little becoming the dignity of a wise and great mind. He resolved to go in search of these lingering troops. He sent some slaves to hire a small vessel on the river to carry over a messenger from Cæsar into Italy. In the middle of the night he embarked in the disguise of a slave. They reached the mouth of the river against a strong wind; but, as they approached the sea, the storm was so violent, that the commander ordered his rowers to return. At that moment Cæsar uncovered his head, and said to the master, "Why dost thou fear? thou carriest Cæsar." Though the rowers pulled lustily against the winds and waves, they were beaten by the elements, and forced to put back to the point from which they started.

Part of Cæsar's troops had been destroyed on their way to Greece, in Illyricum, the people of that country having sided with Pompey. Antony brought the rest of the troops from Italy; and after much danger from Pompey's large fleet, landed them safely at Nymphæum, near Apollonia.

Cæsar offered to engage in battle with Pompey; but as Pompey declined this, Cæsar laid siege to his camp at Durazzo. After much

suffering on both sides, and occasional skirmishes, Pompey drove them with much slaughter from their lines. Cæsar then attempted to force one of Pompey's posts; but he was driven back with much personal danger, and with the loss of many of his men, and several of his eagles. After this repulse, he withdrew from that side of Greece into Macedonia. Encountering great privations and hardships in this long march, he gathered all his forces, and in a few hours made himself master of Gomphi, the first town in Thessaly. All the other towns in Thessaly, excepting Larissa, submitted to him. Though Pompey was unwilling to meet Cæsar in a general action, he was urged to it by the suspicions, ridicule, and eagerness of his officers. He, therefore, followed Cæsar to a plain, surrounded by high mountains, and watered by the Enipeus, near the city of Pharsalia.

On the morning of the day of battle, Pompey appealed to his army, reminding them that they had urged him to this engagement, and calling on them, as they were superior in numbers, and had already beaten the enemy at Durazzo, to maintain their glory, and not abandon the cause of Pompey, of the senate, and of the gods, to the ambition of a man who

would destroy their liberties, and build a monarchy on the ruins of the republic.

Cæsar unfurled the red standard of battle in front of his tent, drew up his troops in fighting order, and levelled the trenches of his camp; promising his army that they should lodge that night in the camp of Pompey. He then calmly addressed them:—"Fellow soldiers! Call to mind what I have done for you in past times. Remember you have sworn to conquer or die. You are veterans against raw recruits. Pompey is driven to this battle against his own judgment. I have levelled the trenches, so that the enemy may see we have no hope but in victory."

The two armies stood opposite to each other in dreadful silence, covering the whole plain from Pharsalia to the Enipeus.

The trumpets sound the charge. Cæsar's right wing rushes in steady order on Pompey's cavalry, and forces them to give way. Six cohorts, that had been posted in the rear of Cæsar's army, advance at a signal given, and aiming at the eyes of the young patricians of Pompey's party, drive them in confusion from the field. Pompey, seeing the defeat of his best force, retires to his camp—lays aside his

marks of dignity; and escapes to Larissa, and thence, in a small boat, to sea.

Though the battle had been raging till noon of a fiercely hot day, Cæsar's troops completed the victory by gaining possession of Pompey's camp. "On entering the camp," Cæsar says, "we found tables ready covered, loaded with plate, and tents shaded with ivy and myrtle! Everything showed the confident expectation of victory. It was easy to see that they little dreamed of the issue: intent only upon pleasure, they hoped with troops enfeebled by luxury to conquer an army used to toil, and hardened by privations."

The troops that accompanied him to Greece complained to him on his return, that he did not trust them, assuring him that they were able without further reinforcement to overcome the enemy; while those left in Italy were burning with impatience to join their comrades. Cæsar sent two letters, one rebuking the lieutenants for their tardiness, and ordering them to embark with the first favouring wind and another, exhorting the soldiers to embark themselves, pointing out the safest places for landing, and urging them to give themselves no concern for the safety of the vessels; it was not

ships, but soldiers that he stood in need of. Pompey had been appointed commander of the forces of the commonwealth, in the name of the senate. On Cæsar's arrival in Greece, Pompey sent away Cornelia, his wife, to await the issue of the war in the isle of Lesbos.

Thus Cæsar was the conqueror in this critical battle, and his victory was complete. On viewing the field of battle, he could not but be moved by the spectacle of so many brave fellow-citizens dead upon the plain. He turned to Asinius Pollio, who stood by him, and said, "It was their choice; they forced me to this: I should have been condemned, if I had not thrown myself on the strength of my army."

Pompey, wandering from place to place, at last sought refuge at Pelusium, in Egypt; where he was murdered through the treachery of the king, on whose protection he cast himself with the more confidence, because that king was under great obligations to him.

Cæsar followed, in the hope of overtaking Pompey; but on his approach to Alexandria, he was met by a disorderly crowd on the bank of the river. From among them, Theodotus, who had prompted the king to murder Pompey, brought to Cæsar the head and the signet-ring

of his vanquished rival. Taking the signet, and turning with horror from the head, he wept. It is hard to say what his feelings might be. Lucan and Dio both accuse him of hypocrisy. The French poet, Boileau, has introduced Cornelia, the widow of Pompey, saying—

> "What sighs! oh, what respect! how sweet the tear
> Shed for a foe you need no longer fear!"

He burned the head with the choicest perfumes, and placed the ashes in a temple which he consecrated to Nemesis, an imaginary divinity, worshipped by the Romans as the avenger of pride and cruelty.

CHAPTER IV.

Cæsar lands at Alexandria—Reception—Detention—Attacked—Narrow escape—Conquest—Establishment of Cleopatra—Rapid progress in the East—Speedy victory over Pharnaces—Brief account of the victory—Arrival at Rome—Sedition quelled—Departure for Africa—Conquest of Thapsus—Utica—Death of Cato.

CÆSAR was struck, on landing at Alexandria, with the discontent, and the hostile movements of the inhabitants. His veteran legions having been dismissed to Italy, he sent for those which he formed out of the remains of Pompey's army, and spent his time in recommending himself to the Alexandrian people by his engaging manners, and by his attention to the temples, porticoes, and schools of philosophy, the library, and other public buildings of their magnificent city.*

* Three hundred and twenty years before Christ, this city was founded by Alexander the Great, who made it the capital of his empire. The riches of the eastern nations—ivory, spices, and precious stones—were gathered there, and sent in ships to all the ports of the Mediterranean Sea.

Being detained at Alexandria by the winds prevailing there at that season of the year, he had the satisfaction of receiving and pardoning the officers of Pompey, saving every day the lives of fellow-citizens who had borne arms against him. He interfered to execute the will of the late king by declaring Ptolemy, and Cleopatra his sister, king and queen of Egypt.

Achillas came to Egypt with a large army to oppose Cæsar, in the name of Ptolemy, and took possession of the entire city, with the exception of that part of the palace which was occupied by Cæsar. Cæsar set fire to the Egyptian fleet—by which act he unhappily burned the famous Alexandrian library; gained possession of the isle of Pharos, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and put to death Pothinus, a eunuch, who was acting in the palace in concert with Achillas. Arsinoe, sister of Cleopatra, threw herself into the camp of Achillas, murdered him by means of Ganymedes, a eunuch in her confidence, and gave the command to Ganymedes. Ganymedes raised the water of the sea by machinery, and poured it by canals into the cisterns of the Romans. Alarmed by the prospect of destruction from the want of fresh water, the Romans were

hastening to embark; but the ready genius of Cæsar relieved them by commanding them to sink wells to a great depth in several places, by which they obtained a plentiful supply. The policy of Ganymedes was now to increase the number of the ships. He took the isle of Pharos.* Cæsar narrowly escaped with his life; for so many crowded into a boat to which he had retired, that he cast himself into the sea, and swam a considerable distance to another vessel. The boat from which he escaped went down. In swimming he threw his purple coat of arms from his shoulder, and dragged it by his teeth, and held his left hand above the water with his papers. Reinforcements came from Asia; and a battle was fought on the left bank of the Nile, with Ptolemy at the head of the Egyptian troops, in which the king, who was afterwards drowned in attempting to escape, was defeated. Cæsar thus came off victorious in a war described by Suetonius as one of great difficulty, with every disadvantage of time, place, and the smallness of his force.

Instead of reducing Egypt to a Roman pro-

* An island at the entrance of the harbour, on which the famed lighthouse stood, and which was joined to the mainland by a broad wall or mole.

vince, he established it under the government of Cleopatra and her younger brother. Perhaps he was influenced in this decision, not only by motives of justice and policy, but by the personal blandishment of that fascinating but dissolute princess. His intrigues with her are detailed by Dio and Appian, the Greek historians. Leaving Egypt under the guard of the greater part of the troops he had with him, Cæsar was unwilling to return to Rome till he had set in order the affairs of the eastern provinces. For this purpose, he passed through Lyrica, Cilicia, and Gallo-Græcia, to Pontus. At Pontus he found that Pharnaces—who had murdered his father, and who had been recognised by Pompey as king of Bosphorus, and an ally of the Roman people,—was ravaging Colchis, Pontus, Lesser Armenia, and Cappadocia; and, having defeated Dolmitius Calvinus, whom Cæsar had sent to repress him, was preparing to extend his conquests into Bithynia, and the Roman province of Asia Minor. On the fifth day after Cæsar's arrival, he encountered him in battle, and, in four hours, put him to flight. The account of this victory, which Cæsar sent to Rome, was in three words:—"Veni, vidi, vici," ("I came, saw, conquered.") Appian says

that Cæsar was himself astonished at the ease with which he gained this victory; exclaiming, "Happy Pompey! for defeating such enemies it was that men proclaimed thee Pompey the Great."

When Cæsar arrived at Rome, he found that the city had been disturbed in his absence by the profligacy of Antony, and by the turbulence of Dolabella: it was his policy to forgive them both. He had been once more chosen dictator, for twelve months, during his stay in Egypt. He laid himself out to amass great heaps of wealth, by requiring crowns of gold, and statues, by encouraging voluntary gifts, and by borrowing large sums from cities or individuals. He publicly sold the goods of those who had perished in the civil war. The house of Pompey, his gardens, and his furniture, were bought by Antony. Cæsar passed a law for the relief of citizens that were in debt, and exempting the poorer tenants from the payment of a year's rent in Rome, and of a quarter of a year's rent in other parts of Italy. His companions in arms were rewarded with priestly and magisterial offices. He restored Sallust the historian to the senate, from which the censors had

expelled him for his crimes, and appointed him prætor.

Among those who had borne arms against him, he gave Sulpicius the government of Achaia; and Brutus, whose life he had spared after the battle of Pharsalia, he made pro-consul of Cisalpine Gaul.

Having made himself dictator for another year, and also consul; and having chosen Lepidus as his colleague; he was on the point of departing to subdue Scipio, Varus, and Cato, —(the adherents of Pompey's party, who had rallied their forces with considerable strength in Africa,)—when a stormy sedition broke out in Campania, among his veteran legions, threatening to destroy all his plans. Headed by the tenth legion, which Cæsar had always honoured with the highest distinction, they demanded the payments which had been promised them, and their discharge. It was not in Cæsar's power to fulfil their demands, but he sent Sallust to promise in his name, that on his return from the war in Africa, he would distribute among them the lands and the money which they had a right to claim, and would bestow a sum (amounting to 65*l.*) on every soldier in

addition. Far from being satisfied with these promises, they became furious, and marched to Rome, spreading terror around them, killing not a few, and among these Cosconius and Galba, two ancient prætors.

When they reached the field of Mars, Cæsar met them; and, with a loud voice, asked them what they wanted. They spake of their fatigues and their loss of blood in so many battles, by which they deserved their discharge. "It is granted," said Cæsar, without a moment's hesitation; and, after a short silence, he added, "and when I shall have triumphed with other troops, I will not fail to discharge my promises." Struck with amazement, they lingered on the spot, as if they could not believe that Cæsar was in earnest. Cæsar was on the point of leaving them, when he turned round and pronounced one word—"Citizens!" This was more than these veterans could bear. They cried out that they were soldiers. They prayed him to forgive them; to lead them to Africa—to let them vanquish all his enemies—to take the life of every tenth man among them. He told them he did not wish to spill their blood; but that soldiers in the prime of their strength, who refused to obey their general, deserved to be

cashiered. He especially reproached the tenth legion for their ingratitude. The men of that legion were in despair. They followed him, without orders, into Africa. Though he made use of their service, he put them in the most perilous situations, and he punished those who escaped with their lives, by depriving them of a third of their share in the booty, and the lands.

With inconceivable rapidity Cæsar landed in Africa, near Adrumetum, (Mahometta,) with a thousand infantry and a hundred and fifty horse. It is said that on leaving the ship he fell; and to give a happy turn to the superstition of his soldiers, he stretched his arms as if in the act of embracing the country, and called out aloud, "Africa, thus I take possession of thee." To meet another superstition, founded on an augury that none but a Scipio could conquer a country in which that family had been so eminently victorious, he carried in his camp a despicable wretch of the family of the Cornelii, whom, in contempt, he called by the name of Scipio.

Ruspina, (Souse,) and Leptis, (Lebeda,) two important cities on the African coast, submitted to Cæsar. He sent to Sardinia and Sicily for

supplies of men and of corn. Before these supplies came, he occupied himself in securing the means of retreat.

When with much difficulty they arrived, he fought several battles, trained his soldiers in the intervals to the new methods of fighting, especially with elephants, and went through immense difficulties, arising partly from the roughness of the country and from hail-storms, and partly from the cruelties of the enemy towards their prisoners. He inflicted severe punishment on some of his own officers, who had offended him by their breach of the rules of discipline. He sent letters to all parts of Africa, announcing his presence in this country, and inviting the people to join his standard. Many of the Getulians and Numidians came to him. He obtained a great victory at THAPSUS, a maritime city of Africa, and marched thence to Utica, a strong city, held by Cato. Cato hearing of Cæsar's approach, destroyed himself, leaving his children to the care of L. Cæsar, his quæstor, a relation of the dictator.

Cæsar in the meantime took possession of Usceta and Adrumetum, which were full of corn and arms. He pardoned Ligurius and Considius, and L. Cæsar, Cato's son, and

others who had fought against him. In the evening he reached Utica by torch-light, and, spending the night near the town, he entered it next morning, called the people together, spared their lives, and ordered them to pay a heavy tribute: Juba, the African king, was abandoned by his people, and fell at his own desire by the hand of one of his slaves. Considius, who fled towards Numidia, was plundered and murdered by the Getulians. Vergilius surrendered himself to the pro-consul Caninius: Afranius and Faustus were taken by P. Sittius, and brought to Cæsar, who ordered them to be slain; but he spared Pompeia, the wife of Faustus, and her children, leaving her the free enjoyment of her property. Scipio, with several attendants, attempting to reach the court of Spain, was overtaken by Sittius, near Hippo, and, having stabbed himself, perished in the sea. Cæsar confiscated the estates of the Roman citizens who had borne arms against him, sold the possessions of Juba, and turned his kingdom into a Roman province, under the government of Sallust, and imposed large fines on the several African cities that had taken part with his enemies. When he was told of Cato's death at Utica, he is said to have

exclaimed, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviedst me the saving of thy life." Plutarch doubts whether Cæsar had any thought of favouring Cato; and he asks, "How would he have spared him when living, against whom he wrote so bitter a discourse after his death?" Yet, remembering Cæsar's clemency to Cicero, Brutus, and innumerable other enemies, he concludes that the book to which he refers was written not from personal hostility, but for political purposes: Cicero had published a eulogy on Cato, which was much admired; Cæsar wrote an answer to it, containing serious charges against Cato's character.

This important and difficult war was finished in a little more than five months. Cæsar then went to Sardinia; from whence he sent part of his fleet and some legions, under the command of C. Didius, to watch the movements of Pompey's son, who had fled to Spain.

CHAPTER V.

Honours conferred on Cæsar—Orations—Triumphs—Rewards to the soldiers—Shows for the people—Civil improvements—Acts of clemency—Increase of the senate—War with the sons of Pompey in Spain—Victory at MUNDA—End of the civil war—Triumph decreed by the senate—Their motives—Reflections—Honours heaped on Cæsar—His magnanimity—Ambitious schemes.

THE senate had prepared for Cæsar's return to Rome, by decreeing him extravagant honours, by which they betrayed their dread of his power rather than their zeal for his honour. They had ordered forty days of public festivity to celebrate his victory in Africa. They determined that in his triumph his car should be drawn, like the chariots of Jupiter and of the sun, by four white horses; that, besides the lictors now in office, those who had served in his two former dictatorships should go before him, amounting to seventy-two. They appointed him dictator for ten years, and inspector of morals, (an office founded on that of the censor,) for three

years. They decreed that he should have a statue on a triumphal car opposite to Jupiter, in the capitol, with a globe under his feet inscribed "To Cæsar—Demi-God!"

When he came to Rome, after his victory in Africa, Cæsar delivered an oration, full of clemency and patriotic expressions, in the senate. He calmed their fears. He assured them that he did not mean to take Sulla for his model; that he was their chief, not their master; their ruler, but not their tyrant. To the people he made similar professions of gentleness and moderation.

Cæsar had been occupied so many years in war, that he had no leisure for those triumphs in which the Romans delighted to pay such honours to their victorious commanders. In the repose which he was now enjoying, he celebrated four triumphs, at short intervals, in a single month; the first, for his victories in Gaul; the second, for the victory in Egypt; the third, for the victory in Pontus; and the fourth, for the victory over Juba, in Africa. He seemed to lavish upon them the magnificence of the most gorgeous taste, supported by the riches of the Roman empire. The ornaments of each triumph were composed of

the rare productions of the country he had conquered. In the Gallic triumph they were composed of the wood of the lemon tree; in the Egyptian, tortoise-shell; in the Pontic, the thorny acanthus; and in the African, ivory.

The most brilliant of these triumphs was for his exploits in Gaul. The representations of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Ocean, appeared in gold as captives. His chariot was preceded by multitudes of prisoners, among whom was pre-eminent Vercingetorix, the chief of the Gallic alliance. The conqueror ascended to the capitol in the light of torches, carried by forty elephants, marching to the right and left.

In the triumph over Egypt, there were imitations of the river Nile, and of the tower of Pharos in flames; and there were pictures of the death of Achillas, and of Sothinus: Arsinoë, the sister of Cleopatra, walked in chains.

The Pontic triumph was distinguished chiefly for the incription of the three celebrated words, "Veni, vidi, vici," on a golden tablet, carried with much pomp in the procession.

In the African triumph, the young son of the vanquished king, Juba, appeared as a captive.

After these triumphs, Cæsar proceeded to fulfil his promises to his soldiers. Besides large sums of money, he gave them separate portions of land. To each of the people, also, he gave ten pecks of corn, 10lbs. weight of oil, and a sum of money. He, moreover, indulged them with public feasts, with all kinds of dazzling spectacles, gladiatorial combats, athletic games, races in the circus, the favourite amusements of the cities he had conquered, players in all languages, and representations of sea-fights; children of Asiatic princes danced the Pyrrhic dance. A Roman knight not only composed a farce, but acted on the stage; and Cæsar rewarded him by paying him the revenue, and restoring to him the rank, which he had forfeited. In the race-course, where two hundred and sixty thousand people could assemble, the noblest youths of Rome drove chariots, drawn some by four horses, some by two, yoked together, and some without yokes. A troop of boys acted the war of Troy. A sham fight occupied two days, in which five hundred foot soldiers, twenty elephants, carrying towers filled with armed men, and three hundred cavalry were engaged on either side; the camp of each party occupying the place of the boundaries of the

course which were removed. For three days racers, boxers, and wrestlers contested for prizes in a temporary stadium or course, on the field of Mars. On a lake formed near the Tiber, Tyrian and Egyptian ships of two, three, and four flights of rowers, and filled with numerous warriors, exhibited sea fights to the astonished citizens of Rome. To these public shows the concourse of people from all quarters was so great, that many strangers lodged in tents on the public ways. Persons were trampled to death in the crowds. This happened to two senators. Cæsar also dedicated a temple to Venus as his mother, and a public Place was added to the monuments of his grandeur.

From these magnificent gaieties, Cæsar turned his thoughts to the graver business of settling the affairs of the commonwealth. We look in vain for any improvement in the constitution, or anything favourable to the liberties of the Romans. It was the opinion of some of the greatest men, that the state of Rome was such that it could be governed only by one powerful mind. Cæsar reformed many abuses, and introduced some valuable improvements in the laws. To repair the waste of citizens by the civil wars, he offered rewards to the fathers

of large families. He forbade any citizen above twenty, and under forty years of age, to be absent from Italy more than three years, excepting those who served in the army. No son of a senator was allowed to travel beyond Italy, but in the company of a magistrate.

The number of slaves being so great as to leave scarcely any employment for the poor, he ordered the superintendents of cattle, and the owners of flocks to employ free men in the proportion of at least one-third of their servants.

He gave much attention to the suppression of luxury among the citizens. He allowed the use of purple and of jewels only to particular persons and ages, and on special days. He held a strong control over the pleasures of the table. He set guards over the markets; and they were commanded to watch the kinds of food that were purchased, and to put a stop to all feasting contrary to the law: he even sent his lictors and his soldiers to bring away from men's tables any forbidden dishes which the spies had overlooked, or connived at.

He established custom-houses for the regulation of foreign merchandise. He encouraged physicians and the teachers of liberal arts to

reside in Rome, by admitting them to the freedom of the city. He regulated the interest of money lent on mortgages, by the value of property before the civil wars, reducing the claims of creditors by one-fourth. He broke up all companies in the city, except those which were of ancient standing. He employed a skilful Greek astronomer to correct the calendar, which had fallen into much confusion, occasioning constant difficulty and trouble.

He filled up vacancies in the senate, and created new patricians. He enlarged the number of prætors, and of inferior magistrates. Men who had been impoverished by the judges through the activity of informers, or party hatred, he restored to their possessions. He divided between himself and the people the power of choosing all the magistrates, except the consuls. He admitted the children of those who had been proscribed to all the honours of the state. The administrations of justice he divided into two classes, the equestrian and the senatorial orders; the third, a lower order, he abolished. He made a division of the people receiving corn out of the public granaries, by a new method, and in places different from what had been usual. By taking the account accord-

ing to separate houses and individuals, he reduced the number from three hundred and twenty thousand, to one hundred and fifty thousand: and, to prevent seditious meetings among those who were omitted in this reckoning, he ordered that every year the prætor should fill up with their names the places of those who died. He appointed eighty thousand citizens to the new colonies of Corinth and Carthage.—He greatly increased the severity with which crimes were punished. Parricides or murderers of free men were punished with the loss of all their property, and other criminals with the loss of half. Nothing could be more impartial or more strict than his enforcement of the laws. He removed even from the senatorial order those who were convicted of corruption. He forbad the marriage of a man who had been a prætor, because he was going to take a woman two days after her divorce from her husband, though there was no suspicion against the man's honour.—There were some distinguished acts of Cæsar's clemency when he attained to the supreme power. Marcellus, of high rank, and great courage, had openly shown his determination to destroy Cæsar before the civil war. After the defeat

of Pompey's party at Pharsalia, he withdrew to Mitylene, to spend the rest of his days in the quiet of retirement, and in study. But he was persuaded by his brother, and by Cicero, to seek permission to return to Rome. The matter was opened in the senate by Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, when the exile's brother cast himself at Cæsar's feet, and the whole senate joined in praying for his restoration. At first, Cæsar complained severely of the bitter animosity which Marcellus had always shown towards him; "but," he added, as they were expecting a refusal, "whatever my personal feelings might be, I cannot resist the united wish of the senate."

The brother of Ligurius, whose life Cæsar had spared, after the battle of Thapsus, on condition that he should remain in exile, took courage from the case of Marcellus to hope also for his restoration. It so happened that, at the time Cicero was employed in defending Ligurius before Cæsar, against the accusation of Trebonius; and it is one of the noblest triumphs of that orator's unequalled eloquence; that Cæsar was so touched by his appeals that he forgave Ligurius, and allowed him to return. It was Cæsar's maxim to reward all

who had done him service, whatever their characters might be. He pushed this maxim so far, that he went not only beyond the usual rules, in smaller matters, but shocked the sense of Roman dignity by bringing men of the lowest condition, and even of criminal character, into the senate. It was probably still more offensive to the Romans to see some of the Gauls, whom they despised as barbarians, intruded on that august assembly. Suetonius mentions a satirical placard, inscribed, "Public notice: Let no one direct a new senator to the hall." Till then the number of senators was six hundred. Cæsar increased it to nine hundred.

* While Cæsar was engaged in these civic affairs at Rome, the two sons of Pompey were acquiring great influence at the head of a powerful army in Spain. The opposition of Didius, whom Cæsar had sent from Africa, and of Fabius and Q. Pedius, who commanded his legions in Spain, were insufficient to check the progress of the Pompeys, and the cities attached to Cæsar united with his generals in continually urging him to come to their relief.

Cæsar, with his usual promptitude and energy, hastened to Spain. He was met by

ambassadors from Cordova, whose representations induced him to send to his lieutenants for all the cavalry. On his march he carried his forces over the river Bætis, (the Guadalquiver,) on a bridge raised on baskets filled with stones. Having laid siege to Ategua, the strongest place held by Pompey, he forced it to surrender.

Other strong places were abandoned by the enemy. After many bloody conflicts of doubtful issue, a final battle was fought near Munda, hand to hand—foot to foot—shield to shield. The slaughter of Pompey's men was terrific, and he was compelled to retreat to the city of Munda. Cæsar immediately besieged the city. The dead bodies of the enemy were heaped into a rampart; their javelins were fixed as palisades; their bucklers were hung up as a breast-work; and their heads, fixed on swords and lances, were planted round the work, to strike the besieged with terror. Both the Pompeys left the town by night: the elder brother was taken in a cave, and slain, and his head was carried to Cæsar, and shown to the people.

In this war Pompey had the advantage of a stronghold in a country full of fastnesses, and

he had thirteen legions against eight; these men were the ancient soldiers of Afranius and Varro, aided by large troops of enfranchised slaves. But Cæsar's army was stimulated by the memory of fourteen years of fame, and by the presence of a leader who had always conquered. For a long time, and on several occasions, the prospect of victory seemed to be on Pompey's side. The historian Florus describes Cæsar as "cast down;" and Suetonius says that "he even meditated his own destruction." He animated his soldiers by desperate efforts of valour, crying to them—"Will you abandon to boys your general, who has grown grey in victory?" The battle of Munda was gained on the same day that, four years before, Pompey the Great had left the shores of Italy for Greece. It brought the civil war to an end. In referring to it afterwards, Cæsar said, "In other places I fought for victory, but at Munda, I fought for life!" Sextus Pompey, after his brother's death, retired to Sicily, and he appeared again on the great field of Roman history after Cæsar's death. Scapula, who had stirred up the freedmen of Spain against Cæsar, fled from Cordova; and gathering his followers together, prepared a funeral pile, to which he

ordered one of his freedmen to set fire, while a slave pierced him to the heart, and cast his body into the flames. Cæsar assembled deputies from the cities of Spain, that had adhered to Pompey, at Seville. He bitterly reproached him; imposed heavy fines; pillaged their temples, especially the rich offerings of the temple of Hercules, at Cadiz. On his return to Rome, Cæsar triumphed once more in celebration of this last victory. He had sent no account of this victory to the senate; but they had received private intelligence. Some of them sought to pay their court to the conqueror, by ordaining feasts of joy and thanksgiving for fifty days; and the rest appear to have consented, because they saw that in triumphing, not over barbarians and foreign kings, but over the most illustrious of the Romans, Cæsar would excite the hatred of the people, and bring on his own ruin. "It was," as Plutarch says, "triumphing in the calamities of his country."

Cæsar had now reached the highest point of worldly grandeur. The party opposed to him was entirely extinguished. Sole master of Rome, all he needed was a legitimate title, and the perpetuation of the power he ha usurped. His power was so overwhelming,

that he found no difficulty in securing these objects. He was declared by the senate commander of all the forces of the commonwealth; the father of his country; consul for ten years; and finally, PERPETUAL DICTATOR. His person was declared sacred. The month in which he was born was called after his name. The imaginations of men were strained to invent new honours for him. He was entitled to wear a triumphal robe on the days of solemn festival. Distinguished places were assigned to him in the public spectacles. He appointed magistrates according to his caprice, for a long series of coming years. He appointed some of his own slaves to public offices. In the midst of these honours he never alluded to Pompey but with deep respect. Some of the lower sort of people displayed their servile flattery by throwing down the statues of Pompey. But Cæsar commanded Antony to restore them. He rendered the same honour to the statues of Sulla. "In restoring the statues of Pompey," said Cicero, "Cæsar has insured the stability of his own."

The Romans were so charmed with his magnanimity, that they built a temple to Clemency, in which images of Cæsar and Clemency were

placed hand-in-hand. Divine honours were decreed to him — sacrifices, incense, altars, temples, libations, priests, and festivals. He was styled Jupiter Julius—the Liberator. They dedicated to him the temple of Liberty. They ordained that the title of Emperor and the dignity of Supreme Pontiff should descend to his sons and grandsons, though he had no children. They erected his images in all their temples and cities, especially two in the tribunal, from which the public orators harangued the people, one adorned with a civic crown, as the preserver of his fellow-citizens! and the other with a crown, called the obsidional, to intimate that he had saved his country. In the temple of Romulus they placed his statue under the title of "The Invincible God!" Another statue of Cæsar was placed among those of the ancient kings, and near to that of Brutus in the capitol. As Cæsar was notorious for his debaucheries, some of his flatterers had prepared a law, permitting him to take as many wives as he pleased.

The great and ambitious mind of Cæsar was far from being satisfied. He still longed for new conquests. As if he had exhausted the springs of enjoyment, his passion for glory

became only stronger by being gratified. He had better health in action than in repose. He panted to avenge the name and the defeat of Crassus, and to gratify the pride of the Romans, by the conquest of the Parthians. After conquering them, he intended to drive the Dacians from Thrace and Pontus, to pass through Hyrcania to the Caspian, to return by the Caucasus through Scythia and Germany and to enter Italy from Gaul. He purposed to subdue the entire known world, and to sway an empire with no limits but the ocean. While preparing for this vast expedition, he commenced a theatre of enormous extent at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, and a temple to Mars, which, by its extent and splendour, was to excel all the buildings in the world. He laboured at the same time to digest, and to compress within a few books, the laws of the republic. He appointed M. Varro to collect and arrange large libraries of Greek and Roman authors. He formed plans for draining the Pomptine marshes; for bringing to the city the waters of the Fucine lake; for making a new passage for the Tiber, from Rome to the sea at Tarracina; for cutting through the isthmus of Corinth, and making a road along

the Apennines; and for constructing a harbour which should accommodate the largest ships at Ostium.

All these gigantic schemes were cut short by his death. Before relating the circumstances of that event, it may be well to present the reader with a picture of his person, his manners, his public and private habits, and some of the main features of his character, as exhibited in some of the most marked actions of his life.

CHAPTER VI.

Description of Cæsar's person—Manners—Severity—Temperance—Rapacity — Eloquence — Writings — Hardihood — Cupidity—Caution — Boldness — Freedom from Superstition—Singular Horse — Courage—Discipline—Attachment of his Soldiers—Their bravery—Remarkable instances—Cæsar's authority—Fidelity — Clemency — Magnanimity — Cæsar's ambition — Haughtiness—Desire for the royal crown.

SUETONIUS describes Cæsar as tall, pale, of well-turned limbs, with full features, dark and piercing eyes, and of vigorous health, excepting that in his later years he was subject to sudden fainting, to epileptic fits, and to startling dreams. He was exceedingly fastidious in everything relating to his person, being particularly careful in shaving his beard, and in the use of the bath. He was so much annoyed by the baldness of his forehead, on which he was often joked, that he was accustomed to draw his hair to the top of his head; and of all the honours bestowed on him by the senate and the people, there was none of which he

availed himself more cheerfully than the right of always wearing a laurel crown. It is said that he was also remarkable for his attention to dress. He always wore a flowing robe, with a loose girdle,—a habit of which Sulla had taken notice in Cæsar's youth. In the former part of his life, he lived in a moderate house in Subura, a cluster of villas between the Esquiline and the Viminal hills. After his election to the supreme pontificate, he occupied a public building in the Sacred Way. A villa which he had begun to build at Nemora, near Aricia, at a great expense, he razed to the foundation, because it did not suit his taste at a time when he was poor and deeply in debt. He often carried with him on his expeditions, rare and curious mosaic pavements. He went to Britain in the hope of finding pearls, which he was accustomed to examine and compare with great nicety, weighing them on his hand. He was at all times extravagant in the purchase of gems, reliévos, statues, and ancient pictures, as well as modern and highly-chased and polished services of gold and silver plate. In his convivial entertainments in the provinces, he made a marked distinction according to the rank and quality of his guests. In

the government of his household, he was rigid even in the smallest matters. He put a cook in prison for preparing one sort of bread for himself, and another for his guests; and he put to death a favourite freedman, though no complaint was made, for seducing the wife of a Roman knight. The greatest stain on his moral character, which he contracted in his youth at the court of Bithynia, was never wiped away nor forgotten. His licentious debaucheries, though dwelt on by Suetonius, we shall be allowed to pass over. But his sobriety was so proverbial, that his enemies said he was the first man that had come sober to the ruin of his country. One of his friends, C. Appius, relates that he was so indifferent to articles of food, that supping with a friend at Milan, his host presented sweetened olives instead of green ones. Cæsar freely partook of them, without seeming to reproach his worthy host for either negligence or rusticity.

In matters of command and office, however, he did not show the same moderation. It appears from his monuments in Spain, that he raised money from the pro-consul, and from his companions in arms, to help him to pay his debts: and he plundered some towns in

Lusitania, (Portugal) though they opened their gates immediately on his approach. In Gaul he rifled temples filled with sacred offerings. He destroyed cities oftener to enrich himself than to punish offenders. Hence he rolled in wealth. The expenses of his civil wars, and of his triumphs, were borne by rapine and sacrilege.

In eloquence he equalled or excelled the glory of the greatest orators. After his action against Dolabella, he ranked among the most distinguished pleaders. Cicero, enumerating the great Roman orators, in his address to Brutus, declares that he does not know any orator to whom Cæsar needs to yield the palm. He says that "Cæsar maintained an elegant, brilliant, as well as grand and generous style of speaking." Writing to Cornelius Nepos, he says, "Why, which even of those orators who have never been distinguished by anything but eloquence, will you prefer to Cæsar? Who more keen or more rapid in his thoughts? who more embellished, or more elegant in language?"

In his youth, he made Strabo his model; part of whose oration for Sardis he literally translated in his "Divination." He delivered his

speeches with an acute voice, accompanied by a fervent gesture, and a graceful manner. He left some orations, with which some spurious ones were intermingled. His other works are, "Commentaries; or, Memoirs of the Gallic and Civil Wars." The author of the histories of his Alexandrian, African, and Spanish wars is unknown; some ascribing them to Appius, and others to Hirtius, who supplied the last and imperfect book of the war in Gaul. Cicero speaks thus of Cæsar's Commentaries in his address to Brutus: "He wrote Commentaries, also, deserving the highest admiration: they are chaste, correct, and beautiful, without the drapery of rhetorical ornament; but while it was his object to prepare materials from which others might compose his history, and shine, if they wished it, by adding embellishments of their own, he has deterred men of sense from making the attempt." Of these Commentaries, Hirtius says, "It is universally acknowledged that the most elaborate writings of other men are inferior to these in elegance. He seems rather to exclude than to encourage the essays of other writers to enlarge upon them.

"Our admiration is greater than that of

other readers; because, while they can judge of the accuracy and perfection of the works, we know with what ease and rapidity he wrote them." Pollio (Asinius) thinks that Cæsar "wrote these books carelessly, and without the exactness of truth; that he was credulous in many things not coming under his own observation; that he wrote of matters in which he was personally concerned rashly, either on purpose or from lapse of memory; and that he intended to write them over again, and to correct them."

Cæsar left behind him two books, "On Analogy," two books entitled "Anti-Cato," and a poem, called "The Journey." The two former he wrote when crossing the Alps; those against Cato, about the time of the battle of Munda; and the poem, on his voyage to Spain. His "Epistles to the Senate," which were in existence in the time of Suetonius, were the earliest example of such documents in the form of books. There were also some volumes addressed to Cicero and other familiar friends, on domestic affairs; in which the more secret passages were *in cipher*—a mode of writing which he is said to have been the first to introduce: his secret was to use *d* for *a*,

b for *e*, *f* for *c*, and so on through the alphabet. Other writings were also ascribed to him—"The Praises of Hercules," "Œdipus," a tragedy; "Collections of Sayings,"—composed in his youth and childhood; all of which his adopted son and successor forbade to be published, in a short and simple epistle addressed to Pompeius Macer his chief librarian. Most accomplished in the use of arms, and in horsemanship, Cæsar was incredibly patient of labour, passing in the front of his soldiers with his head uncovered, sometimes on horseback, often on foot, whether in sunshine or rain. He performed the longest journeys with astonishing speed; travelling without incumbrance in a hired carriage a hundred miles a day, crossing rivers by swimming, or floating on inflated skins, and often arriving before the messengers sent to announce his coming.

In undertaking expeditions, it is not easy to say whether his caution, or his daring, was the more striking. He never led his army through dangerous marches without having first thoroughly inspected the way. He would not let them cross over to Britain, till he had personally explored the harbours of Gaul, the navigation, and the points of access to the

island. But when the same cautious leader was told that his camp was besieged in their winter quarters in Germany, he passed the guards of the enemy in the dress of a Gaulish peasant. The superstitions of his age never deterred him from any undertaking. If the sacrificial victim fled from him at the altar, he persevered in spite of the evil omen. His battles were fought not only by previous arrangement, but as favourable occasions offered, not infrequently just at the end of a march, in a frightful storm, when no one could suspect that he was in motion. It was not till his later years that he became more tardy in coming to close quarters. The oftener he conquered, the less he exposed himself to risk; believing that victory could bring no advantage too great for calamity to take away. He never routed the enemy without burning their tents, that he might leave them no opportunity for rallying. Once, when the issue of the battle was doubtful, he sent away all the horses, (especially his own,) that the necessity of fighting bravely might be increased by losing the means of escape.

It is said by many of the Roman writers, including Pliny and Suetonius, that Cæsar rode

a remarkable horse, with hoofs divided in a manner resembling the human foot. This horse, bred on his own property, was pronounced by the soothsayers to be a pledge of universal empire. He trained him with extreme care. The horse would carry no rider but Cæsar. An image of this horse was erected in front of the temple which Cæsar dedicated to Venus.

Cæsar often rallied the wavering line of his soldiers by his personal prowess. He stood before the fugitives, laying hold of them by the throat, and turning them round to face the enemy. A standard-bearer once offered to pierce him with the lance surmounting his eagle. Another standard-bearer left his eagle in the hand of Cæsar, who was attempting to prevent his flight. After the victory of Pharsalia, he had sent his forces before him into Asia. Crossing the strait of Hellespont in a passage-boat, he met Cassius with ten armed vessels of Pompey's party: instead of retreating, he immediately made for the ship of Cassius, ordered him to surrender, and admitted him among his own followers.

Cæsar valued a soldier, not for his birth or fortune, but solely for his courage, and treated

him with equal indulgence and severity. It was only when the enemy was at hand that he used the extreme rigour of discipline. Then, he was so strict, that he would not announce the time of either a march or a battle, but required his men to be ready to obey his commands at any moment. These sudden orders were, for the most part, given without any pressing necessity, especially in wet weather, or on days devoted to superstition. Sometimes, perceiving that his movements were watched, he would hastily retreat in the night; and he would lengthen the march on purpose to weary those who lagged behind.

When his soldiers were alarmed by reports of the enemy's strength, it was his practice to stimulate them; not by denying or softening such reports, but by exaggerating, or even inventing them.

In the African war, for example, there was a fearful expectation of the approach of Juba. Cæsar, assembling his men, addressed them in these stern words: "Know ye, that in a few days a king will come against you with ten legions—thirty thousand of horse, a hundred thousand light infantry, and three hundred elephants—therefore, let every man among

you cease to inquire or think, but trust entirely to me, who am prepared to meet him: otherwise, truly, I will fling you into the most rotten ship of my fleet, to be cast, at the mercy of the winds, on any shore to which they may drive you." Cæsar was not rigid in noticing every fault in his soldiers, or always carrying military discipline to its extreme point. While he was sharp to detect, and severe to punish deserters and mutineers, he winked at minor offences. After a great battle, he would hold the reins with a looser hand, and give them up to all manner of license. In addressing them he called them not soldiers, but fellow-soldiers. He was very careful of the splendour of their dress, adorning their highly-polished arms with silver and gold; not for the sake of appearance only, but to make them more fearful of losing them. So strong was the attachment which he showed to his soldiers, that when he heard of the slaughter of the companions of some of his officers in Gaul, he left his hair and beard undressed, as a token of his grief, till he had taken revenge for their destruction.

By all these means he secured the devotion of his men to himself, and made them the

bravest of soldiers. On the breaking out of the civil war, each of the centurions of the separate legions offered to equip a horse-soldier at his own charge; and the entire army proposed to fight without pay, the richer undertaking to supply the poorer. Most of his soldiers, when taken by the enemy, refused to accept their lives with the condition, that they should fight against Cæsar. So patient were they of hunger and other privations, not only when besieged but when besieging others, that when Pompey saw the kind of bread they were eating at the siege of Durazzo, he said they were wild beasts; and ordered that this food should not be shown to his own men, lest they should be dispirited by such a proof of the patience and pertinacity of the enemy. Such soldiers easily conquered armies larger than their own. A single cohort (the tenth part of a legion) of the sixth legion, drawn up before a castle, resisted four entire legions of Pompey, nearly every man being pierced by arrows, of which a hundred and forty-four thousand were found in the trench where they fell. This courage in the army generally appears the less wonderful if we attend to the single acts of individuals. Va-

lerius Maximus, a celebrated moral writer among the Romans, gives the following instances:—

Atilius, a soldier of the tenth legion, had his right hand cut off in laying hold of a ship of Marseilles: he seized her with the left hand, and held fast till he had captured and sunk it: thus following the example of Cynægirus, the Athenian, in the Persian war.

The naval glory of Atilius was equalled by Cæsius Scæva, one of Cæsar's centurions, on land. While he was defending a castle in Greece, Pompey sent a large force to take it. Scæva for a long time had killed all that came near him; and, without yielding a step, fighting on foot, he fell forward on the heap of the men he had slain with his own hand. He was wounded in the head, the shoulder, and the thigh; one of his eyes was torn out; and his shield was cut through in a hundred and thirty places. A similar act of cool daring by the same man, in the invasion of Britain, is also celebrated by Valerius in the highest strain of admiration.

During the nine years of the Gallic wars, there was no mutiny in Cæsar's army. In the civil wars there were occasional disturbances of

this kind, but they were instantly put down by the authority of their intrepid leader, who, fearing no man, made himself feared by all.

Cæsar was equally eminent for his fidelity to those who committed their civil interests to his protection as a public pleader. He strenuously defended Masintha, a royal youth of Africa; and when his client was defeated by the judgment of the senate, Cæsar rescued him from the officers as they were dragging him away, concealed him for a long time in his house, and, when he went to his pro-consulate in Spain, he took him with him.

He treated his personal friends with such delicacy, that when C. Appius, who accompanied him in a rural excursion, was suddenly taken ill, he gave up to him the lodging which had been prepared for himself, and passed the night in the open air. After he came to the supreme power in the commonwealth, he never, cherished an enmity too strong to be laid aside when a fair opportunity arose. Though he had replied, with much bitterness, to some very cutting speeches of C. Memmius, yet he supported him in his application for the consulate. He wrote friendly letters to C. Calvus who had published some songs designed to

cover him with infamy. He cheerfully forgave Valerius Catullus, who had fastened indelible reproaches upon him by his songs, and he invited him to his table. Even in his revenges he was gentle. The pirates who had taken him, and whom he swore that he would crucify, he ordered to be strangled before they were fastened to the crosses. He could never find in his heart to inflict any injury on Cornelius Phagita, who had detected him in his youth when he was hiding himself from Sulla, and from whom he had the greatest difficulty in purchasing his life. One of his slaves, named Philemon, had promised his enemies to poison him. Though Cæsar thought it necessary to put this slave to death, he abstained from torturing him.

His clemency was seen, not only in his civil administration, but in the flush of victory. When Pompey denounced as enemies all who would not join him, Cæsar said that he would number all that were neutral among his friends. Those who had received appointments under him at Pompey's recommendation when they were at amity, he assisted in passing over to Pompey after they became enemies. At Kerda, a city of Catalonia, in Spain, during

a short truce, the troops of the opposite camps held friendly intercourse with each other: Afranius and Petreius, the generals opposed to Cæsar, caused some of Cæsar's men to be treacherously murdered; but Cæsar forbore to retaliate. During the battle of Pharsalia he ordered his men to spare the citizens of Rome. None of his enemies perished, unless they were fighting against him, except Afranius, Faustus, young Sulla, and Lucius Cæsar. Both Afranius and Faustus had been pardoned by him on former occasions. For Sulla's death he had special political reasons arising from his family connexions. Lucius Cæsar had tortured his slaves in a most cruel manner, and he had slaughtered the animals prepared for a public sacrifice. Dio says, that though he was his relative, and begged his life, yet, as he had fought against him through the whole war, he ordered him to plead his own cause, that he might be judicially condemned; but not liking to pronounce sentence against him with his own lips, he stopped the trial, and he was privately slain. Near the close of his life he allowed all those whom he had not pardoned to return to Italy, and to take both military and civil offices.*

* Dio gives a different account (b. 49). He says that, with

If seditious intentions were suspected, or inflammatory language used against him, he would rather check than punish them. Even when conspiracies and secret nightly meetings were detected, he merely showed by an edict that the men were marked. He thought it enough to warn such as spake bitterly against him, in a public speech, not to persevere. He bore, with a calmness not usual in conquerors, the wounds inflicted on his reputation in the heavy accusations of a book by Aulus Cæcina, and the withering curses breathed in the poems of M. O. Pitholaus.

On the other hand, his motives for his wars, and particularly for the civil war against Pompey, were such as cannot but be condemned. His pretext for invading the Roman republic was, the injustice of his enemies. Pompey had been known to say, that Cæsar could neither finish the public works he had undertaken, nor satisfy the expectations he had raised among the people in the prospect of his return from Gaul, and that, therefore,

few exceptions, Cæsar punished the knights and senators who had favoured Pompey; that he gave slaves up to their masters to be punished; and that he crucified those slaves whose masters were not found.

he aimed only at bringing about a state of general turmoil and confusion. Others said that Cæsar would be called to account for his illegal acts in his first consulate. Cato had solemnly averred, that so soon as Cæsar dismissed his army, the power of his name would vanish. The people, too, predicted, that if Cæsar should return to Rome, as a private citizen, he would have to plead before judges surrounded by armed men. It was generally believed, that he was so intoxicated with his brilliant successes, that he compared his forces with those of his enemies, and resolved to use the opportunity for seizing the supreme power, for which he had been longing from his youth. This seems to have been Cicero's opinion, for, in the third book of his Offices, he says, that Cæsar had ever on his lips the base words of Eteocles the Theban, in Euripides:—"If you must break the law—for a kingdom break it: in all other matters, keep the right most sacredly."

Corrupted and giddy through success, he not only received too many honours—the continued consulate—the perpetual dictatorship—the control of morals—the designation of Commander—the title of Father of his coun-

try—the statue among those of kings in the capitol—a seat above the senate in the theatre; but he permitted some to be decreed which went beyond the bounds even of human pride: a chair of gold in the senate, and in front of the tribunal—and the monstrous impiety of divine honours! He openly avowed, that the republic was nothing but a name without substance or form; that Sulla had shown his ignorance of the meaning of the dictatorship in abdicating that office; and that men ought to receive his decisions as the supreme law!

But his chief and unpardonable crime, in the eyes of the Romans, and that which led more immediately to his destruction, was his insolent treatment of the conscript fathers. They had been decreeing the most extravagant honours to Cæsar, and were coming in a body to inform him of what they had done. He was seated in front of the temple he had dedicated to Venus, as his mother. Some have said that when about to rise, he was held back by M. C. Balbus, one of his flatterers, who said to him, "Do you not remember that you are Cæsar? and will you not maintain the majesty that becomes you?"

Others say, that he made no offer to rise,

but that when C. Trebatius reminded him of what was due to the venerable company approaching him, he regarded him with a look of displeasure.—This haughtiness was the more intolerable in Cæsar, because in one of his triumphs, when passing by Aquila, a tribune, whose privilege it was to remain seated, he was so indignant at his not rising in his presence, that he cried out to him, "Then take the republic from me;" and for several days afterward, he neither made a promise, nor granted a favour, without sarcastically adding, "If, however, Pontius Aquila will have the goodness to let it be so."—To the insult offered to the senate, he added other proofs of insufferable arrogance. Returning from a public sacrifice at which he had been presiding, amid the unrestrained acclamations of the populace, one of the crowd placed a laurel crown, adorned with a royal diadem, on Cæsar's statue. The tribunes ordered it to be removed, and put the man who had been guilty of this audacious flattery in chains. Cæsar was so provoked at this ill prospect of his becoming a king, or, as he pretended, at being deprived of the opportunity of refusing that honour, that he severely rebuked the tribunes, and then removed them

from their offices. He could not shake off the unpopularity, caused by the general belief that he wished to assume the regal title. When some of his partisans hailed him king, there was a deadly silence in the multitude. When he replied, "I am Cæsar, not a king," they rent the air with their shouts of joy.

During the ceremony of the Lupercal, an extravagant celebration in honour of Pan, Cæsar was seated on a throne of gold. The consul Marc Antony, who officiated in this silly amusement, offered to place a royal crown on Cæsar's head. The people groaned and murmured. Cæsar once and again put the crown away from him; and at last he sent it to the capitol, saying, "Jupiter alone is the king of Rome."

There were various reports, gaining increasing belief at Rome, that Cæsar intended carrying the riches of the empire to Alexandria, or to Troy, leaving Rome and Italy to some of his chosen friends.

At a meeting of the senate, Lucius Cotta, one of the fifteen sacred officers appointed to inspect the Sybilline books—which were supposed to foretell the fortunes of the Roman people—gave it out that the Parthians, whom Cæsar was about to invade, could not be

conquered except by a king. He therefore proposed that, though no man could be acknowledged as a king in Rome, Cæsar should bear that title in the war, which he was preparing to commence in a few days.

CHAPTER VII.

Dissatisfaction of the Romans—Conspiracy—Brutus—Cassius—Their reconciliation—Ligurius—Portia—Plans of the conspirators—Suspicions—Omens—Fears of the conspirators—Cæsar in the portico of Pompey—Death of Cæsar—Confusion in Rome—Meeting of the senate—Artful speech of Antony—Union of the factions—Cæsar's will—Public funeral—Honours paid to Cæsar's memory—Destruction of his murderers.

Several plots had already been formed to take Cæsar's life; but the proposal of Cotta made the conspirators eager to lose no time in effecting their purpose, lest they should be obliged, in the senate, to consent to his being called a king.

Public indignation was rife against the new and the foreign senators. When the new consul, who displaced Q. Maximus, was announced in the theatre by the lictor, the people shouted with one voice, "He is no consul." After Cæsetius and Marcellus were deposed from the tribuneship, for refusing to let Cæsar's statue be crowned, many of the citizens voted for their

being consuls at the next election. Some one wrote on the statue of Junius Brutus in the capitol, "Oh that thou wert living!" and on the statue of Cæsar himself, which stood near that of the ancient destroyer of kings, was written—

"Brutus was the first consul, because he banished kings:
"This man, by abolishing consuls, has at last become a king."

Appian mentions the names of many of the conspirators, amounting to more than sixty. The leaders were C. Cassius, Marcus Brutus, and Decimus Brutus.

All eyes were turned to Marcus Brutus, who was prætor of the city. Papers were found on the judgment-seat on which he administered justice, with the words, "Thou sleepest, Brutus:" "Thou art not a genuine Brutus."

Marcus Brutus was believed to be a descendant of the famous Junius Brutus, who drove the last of the Tarquins from the throne, and laid the foundation of the great Roman republic. On the side of his mother, who was Cato's sister, he inherited the love of liberty from a long line of ancestors, noted for their hatred of tyranny. History represents him as a man of immovable purpose, addicted to the study of

history and philosophy, and master of a grave and masculine eloquence. He hated Pompey as the murderer of his father, though he joined his party when he believed him to be the last stay of the republic.

After the battle of Pharsalia, he freely gave his support to Cæsar, and distinguished himself by the wisdom and gentleness of his government in Gaul. He had the highest place in the confidence of Cæsar, who regarded him as his own son.

Cassius was an older man than Brutus, and of a very different character. He was fiery, intriguing, and ambitious. Nourished, as all the youth of Rome were, in a deep hatred of tyranny, he had personal grounds of dislike to Cæsar. The tyrant was the object of his aversion more than the tyranny. Cicero has shown that he had long harboured a design against Cæsar's life. He now began to sound his friends. They all promised to join him, if he could secure Brutus as their leader. "We have strong arms, and hearts," they said, "but we want a head such as Brutus, whose name will stamp our attempt with the sacredness of justice, while his wisdom will insure its success."

Cassius had married the sister of Brutus, and it was through the influence of Brutus that he was restored to Cæsar's favour after the battle of Pharsalia. But Cæsar had shown his preference for Brutus, by appointing him, instead of Cassius, prætor of the city, when the brothers-in-law were candidates for that honour. This indignity had not only deepened the hatred of Cassius towards Cæsar, but alienated him in some degree from Brutus. He now sought to be reconciled with him. On his first visit their friendship was renewed. He then asked Brutus if he meant to be present in the senate on the ides of March, when the friends of Cæsar, as he was informed, intended to give him the crown. Brutus said that "he did not mean to go." "But," said Cassius, "if we are specially summoned, how will you act?" "My duty will then be, not to keep silence, but to defend liberty, by dying for her." "Oh!" said Cassius, with warmth, "which of the Romans will let you die before him? Brutus, do you not know who you are? Think you that the inscriptions found on your tribunal have come from the rabble, and not from the first men in Rome? From other prætors men look for gifts and shows; but from you they expect—

as a debt you owe to your name, and to the glory of your ancestors — the overthrow of tyranny. The citizens are ready to risk all— to suffer anything for you, if you show yourself worthy of their hopes."

Brutus kindled at the thoughts thus suggested to him, and entered at once into the plan. His first step was to seek Ligurius, who hated Cæsar for his former conduct to him, and for his public usurpation, though he had permitted his return from banishment. Brutus found him sick in bed. "My friend Ligurius," he said, "what a time for *you* to be laid aside!" At once comprehending him, Ligurius rose upon his bed, saying, "Brutus, if you have any design worthy of you, I am well." The example of Ligurius was quickly followed by other partisans of Pompey, who could not forgive Cæsar for having conquere them; and they were joined by several of Cæsar's greatest generals, who, whatever motives they might have had besides, forgot their obligations to their leader, in their zeal for the deliverance of their country. Their design was kept from Cicero, because of his age, and his natural timidity; and from Antony, for other reasons.

Decimus Brutus was not a man remarkable for either skill or courage, but as he was much with Cæsar, and had the command of a large body of gladiators ready for a public spectacle, whose help would be of value in the popular excitement they expected, the conspirators wished him to join them. Among the other conspirators—all men of senatorial or equestrian rank—were Servius Galba, who had been Cæsar's lieutenant in Gaul, and who was exasperated against him because he refused him a consulate; the two Cascas, Tillius Cimber, and Minucius Basilus. There was another Cassius—of Parma, and Pontius Aquila, the tribune lately mentioned; these were both of the number. They took no oath; and it is remarkable that a secret intrusted to so many was not betrayed, though one of them, Tillius Cimber, was notoriously addicted to excess in wine.

The secret was penetrated by one woman, the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. Brutus maintained his calmness during the business of the day, but the searching eye of Portia saw that his heart was burdened. She tried her own courage by wounding herself secretly with a knife; and the loss of blood and the pain were followed by a fever. Brutus

was overwhelmed with distress; but, in the moment of her sharpest sufferings, she said to him, "Brutus, I am Cato's daughter, and I have been given to you in marriage, not only to minister to your pleasures, but to be a partner in your most serious cares. Your conduct to me is without reproach; but how can I show my gratitude and love, if I do not help you to bear your secret disquietude? I know that women are not generally regarded as able to keep a secret; but a good education and virtuous society have great influence on the character; and who can have juster reasons to boast of these advantages than the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus? I should reckon little on the past; but now let me prove to you, that even pain cannot subdue my courage"—showing him her wound, and her motive for inflicting it. Brutus, lost in admiration and astonishment, raised his hands to heaven, imploring that, by the success of his enterprise, he might be regarded as worthy of such a wife. He told her all; and he had no reason to repent of the confidence of which Portia showed herself so worthy.

The conspirators met in the night, at the house of Brutus, to decide on their plans.

At first it was proposed, that when Cæsar would be upon a bridge in the Field of Mars, presiding at the election of magistrates, they should form themselves into two parties, one to throw him down from the bridge, and the other to kill him when he fell. Another proposal was to attack him in the Sacred Way leading to the capitol, where he lived; or at the entrance of the theatre of Pompey, in which the public games of that season were exhibited. It was finally determined to fall upon him in the full assembly of the senate, because their presence there would excite no suspicion, and because they hoped that as soon as the dictator fell, the heads of the republic would rally round them in the cause of liberty. On that day, the ides of March, (15th,) it was looked on as auspicious that the senate were to meet in a portico which Pompey had built near his theatre.

It was impossible that so large a conspiracy could manage their proceedings so secretly as entirely to escape suspicion. Cæsar knew that nightly meetings were held, and one expression used by him shows that he partly suspected Brutus and Cassius: for when some of his friends advised him to be on his guard

against Antony and Dolabella, he replied, "They are not those hearty fellows, well-fed, and daintily dressed, that one should fear, but those who are thin and pale." Yet though he knew Brutus's courage, the rigidness of his principles, and the number of his friends, when he reflected on his virtuous character, these suspicions vanished; and when some one urged him to distrust him, he put his hand on his own body, saying, "Don't you think Brutus will wait till this poor skin is laid aside?"

We cannot be supposed to have any faith in the prodigies related by the ancient historians, forewarning Cæsar of his approaching danger. Some of them are manifestly inventions; some of them, of course, are greatly exaggerated; and all of them, so far as we can gather, were mentioned after his death. A few months before, Suetonius informs us, the colonists settled in Capua, by Cæsar's agrarian law, were digging up ancient sepulchres for the sake of using the stones in building their villas. In the place where Capys, the reputed founder of the city, was said to have been buried, they found some vases, which induced them to proceed cautiously in their work. On a monument they descried a brazen tablet, with

this inscription, in Greek: "When the bones of Capys are uncovered, one of the Julian race will fall by the hands of his countrymen, and they will immediately be visited with dreadful slaughter." For the truth of this narrative, Suetonius vouches the authority of Cornelius Balbus, one of Cæsar's intimate friends. He adds, that a few days before Cæsar's death, the troops of horses which he had consecrated when he crossed the Rubicon, and had suffered to run at liberty, refused their food, and—wept profusely! Surinna, a soothsayer, had forewarned him of a great danger for thirty days, ending with the ides of March. The evening before his death, he was supping with some friends at the house of Lepidus. While Cæsar engaged himself in reading and arranging some papers, a question was proposed by one of the company, "What kind of death is most to be desired?" Cæsar promptly answered, "The most sudden."

That night, Calphurnia, Cæsar's wife, dreamed that she was holding him, pierced and bleeding, in her arms, and Cæsar heard her sob in her sleep. On awaking she intreated him to remain at home that day. Her fears made some impression on him, as he had

never seen her give any signs of superstition; and, as his health was not very strong, he began to hesitate. Sacrifices were offered, and the priests pronounced the signs unfavourable. Cæsar was about to send Antony to dismiss the senate; but Decimus Brutus, who was with him, earnestly persuaded him against it. He told him that this would furnish his enemies with new grounds of reproach; that the senate, which was assembling for the purpose of giving him the royal title and diadem, everywhere beyond Italy, would think itself insulted; that if any one should say that the Roman senate was made to wait till Cæsar's wife had happier dreams, his friends would have great difficulty in defending him from the charge of bringing his fellow-citizens into bondage; or that, at any rate, if he meant to postpone the meeting of the senate till another day, it would still be better to go in person, and make that proposal."—Thus saying, he took him by the hand and led him forward. As he was leaving his house, a slave tried to approach him, but was prevented by the crowd of attendants: he went in and put himself under Calphurnia's care till Cæsar's return, when, he said, he had some important com-

munications to make to him. On the road, Cæsar passed Surinna, and said, smiling, "The ides of March are come." "They are not over," said the soothsayer.

Artemido, a Greek philosopher, who had much knowledge of many of the friends of Brutus, watched the petitions which were put into Cæsar's hand as he went on: when he saw that he handed them over as he received them to a secretary, he came close to his side, and gave him a paper, saying, "Read this quickly—it concerns you nearly." Cæsar kept the paper, but, finding it impossible to read in the pressure of the crowd, he went to the portico with it in his left hand. One hour had already passed since noon. The conspirators were there. Brutus was standing by himself, with a dagger under his robe. Some of the conspirators were attending calmly to the public business of their office. The delay of Cæsar had somewhat alarmed them. Casca was addressed by a man, who said, "You have been very reserved; but Brutus has told me." Casca imagined that the secret was betrayed, but he recovered from his fright when the man added, "How, my friend, have you become suddenly so rich as to aspire to the ædile-

ship?" Brutus was also thrown into the most cruel perplexity by being told that his wife was at the point of death; but he was steady to his purpose, for, at that moment, Cæsar was approaching. As the dictator was sorting his letters, they saw him listening very attentively to a senator, named Popilius Lænas, who a short time before had said to Brutus and Cassius, "I wish your design may prosper, and I advise you not to delay; for it begins to be talked of." When they saw him thus closely engaged with Cæsar, they made signs to one another to kill themselves, to avoid the disgrace of punishment. Cassius and some of the rest had already put their hands to their daggers, when Brutus observing that Popilius was evidently seeking some favour, he recovered his confidence, and cast a serene look on his associates, assuring them there was no danger. In a few moments, Popilius kissed Cæsar's hand and retired. The whole senate rose to receive the dictator. The conspirators surrounded him, and conducted him to his seat, while Decimus and Trebonius detained Antony at the entrance of the portico. Tillius Cimber then came to Cæsar, petitioning that his brother might have leave to return to Rome. The

other conspirators joined Cimber in his petition, and were taking the dictator's hand, under the pretence of kissing it, as if to move his generosity. He refused the petition, and, seeing himself too closely pressed, he was about to rise. At that instant, Cimber, with both hands, pulled Cæsar's robe from off his shoulders, which was the signal for attack. Cæsar cried out, "This is not intreaty, it is violence." Casca, who was behind the seat, struck the first blow, but feebly, with a trembling hand. Cæsar turned round, and, seeing Casca, wounded him in the arm with his stylus, (steel writing-instrument,) saying, "Wretch! what do you mean?" At the same moment, Casca called to his brother, in Greek, "Brother, help!" They all drew their daggers, and Cæsar, in struggling to escape, received in his heart the only wound which was really mortal. When he saw himself thus surrounded, he covered his head, lowered it, and fell, in silent dignity, at the foot of Pompey's statue, with three and twenty wounds in his body. It is currently believed, on somewhat doubtful authority, that when he saw Brutus rushing on him, he said faintly, "And *thou*—too—my SON!"×

The sudden assassination of the dictator struck the senate dumb with horror. Brutus, lifting his reeking dagger, was about to address himself to Cicero; but the whole assembly fled. In a moment, the city was full of confusion. The body was left some time to the gaze of the affrighted crowd, and at length was carried home by three slaves. The conspirators marched in order to the capitol, and Brutus having his left arm folded in his mantle, and the bloody dagger in his right hand, preceded by the cap of freedom on a spear, exhorted the people to be of good heart, and to prepare themselves to enjoy the liberty they had won for them. The majority of the senate took part with Brutus; but Antony and Lepidus stirred up the people, and such soldiers as were in the city, against them. Brutus addressed the people in the capitol, and again in their own assembly, and was heard with respectful silence.

On the following day, the senate met in one of the temples. Some were for bestowing public rewards on Brutus and his companions; others, and even those who were least affected towards him, agreed that they should go unpunished. But there were those who main-

tained that their business was, to judge the character of Cæsar, before they formed an opinion of his destroyers. Antony saw that the mind of the senate would be, to declare Cæsar a tyrant, and to drag his body to the Tiber. With great art, therefore, he reminded them, that, if they came to such a decision, they would abrogate the laws of Cæsar, which would bring confusion into every part of the world; they would take away the foundation of their own rank and power; they would bring upon them the veterans who had served under Cæsar, and who adored his memory; and, therefore, since their regard for the peace of the commonwealth would not allow them to avenge his death, the same motive would oblige them to confirm his acts.

In this way both factions—each afraid of the other, and neither strong enough to crush its rival—came to an agreement, and made use of the senate to give authority to their proceedings.

* Cæsar had made a will in the last ides of September, and had given it in charge of the chief of the Vestal Virgins. At the demand of L. Piso, Calphurnia's father, this will was opened and read in the house of Antony. Q.

Tubero relates, that between the time of his first consulate and the beginning of the civil war, Cæsar had often spoken of Pompey as his heir; but in this, his last will, he named the three descendants of his sisters—Octavius, (afterwards the emperor Augustus,) Pinarius, and Pedius. He also adopted Octavius as his son. Some of his murderers were mentioned as the guardians of his son, if he should have one. Decimus Brutus was, also, one of his heirs. To the people of Rome he bequeathed his gardens near the Tiber, and a sum amounting to between two and three pounds of our money, to each citizen separately.

The impression produced by this will, on the common people of Rome, may be supposed. They said among themselves, "They wish to represent Cæsar as a tyrant, but who has ever shown more affection for his fellow-citizens and for his country?"

Cæsar was honoured with a solemn burial, at the cost of the state. A pile was prepared, near the tomb of Julia his daughter, in the field of Mars. His body was laid on a couch of ivory enriched with gold and purple, covered with the vest in which he was slain, and

having a military trophy at his head; this couch was placed in a temple, copied after the temple of Venus. The crowds who brought offerings for the pile were so great, that they were allowed to bring them by any road they found convenient, without observing the order of procession required on other occasions, as it was not thought expedient to prolong the ceremony beyond one day. In the funeral games, songs were sung to move the pity of the people for the fallen dictator, and their hatred of his murderers.

Marc Antony pronounced the funeral oration. Having commanded a herald to enumerate the honours which the senate had decreed to Cæsar, and to repeat the oath in which they had all sworn to defend his person, he addressed the people in the most insinuating and exciting language—showing them the bloody robe—and pointing to the wounds in a wax figure of Cæsar's body, which he had caused to be prepared.

The magistrates and public officers had laid the remains of Cæsar in the open space, fronting the raised platform from which the public orator was accustomed to speak. The people were so excited by Antony's harangue, that

they carried them to the capitol, that they might be burned in the midst of the images of the gods; but the priests and the magistrates, fearing that the most beautiful and sacred buildings of Rome would be destroyed, interfered, and they brought them back to the forum. They then came to the determination to burn one part in the vaults of Jupiter Capitolinus, and another in the portico where he was murdered, when suddenly, two men, girded with swords, and brandishing javelins in their hands, set fire to the couch with waxen torches, and immediately the surrounding crowd threw upon the flames long twigs, the seats of the judges, the benches of the magistrates, the tables of bankers and merchants, and all the votive offerings that were at hand; the minstrels and scenic artists then flung into the burning pile the dresses they had worn first at Cæsar's triumphs, and now at his funeral; the veterans of the legions did the same with their arms and military crowns, matrons with their jewels, and children with their ornaments of dress.*

* So fierce was the fire, that it consumed the house of Bellienus, an eminent Roman, and it required all the activity of the consuls and of the troops to prevent the conflagration from spreading through the city.

Multitudes of all nations gathered round the blaze, each mourning apart, according to their several customs. The Jews, especially, who favoured Cæsar, because he had subdued Pompey, the conqueror of their holy city, and who had helped him greatly in the Alexandrian war, joined in the general wail of lamentation, and, night after night, repeated their visits to the spot.

From the funeral of Cæsar, many of the people went with torches to set fire to the houses of Brutus and Cassius, and other conspirators. Driven back from this attempt with much difficulty, they rushed furiously from place to place. A friend of Cæsar's, whose name was Helvius Cinna, had dreamed a frightful dream the night before, which had broken his health; but he was coming, at a late hour, to pay the last honours to the dictator's memory. When he reached the scene, some one called him by his surname, Cinna. The name was confounded with that of Cornelius Cinna, the prætor, who had made himself unpopular, a few days before, by an indecent attack on Cæsar's character. Deaf to his explanations, they tore him to pieces on the spot, and carried his head in triumph on the point of a spear.

A solid column was raised in the forum nearly twenty feet high, of Numidian marble—a dark stone mottled with white and red—having the inscription, "TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY." Before this column, the Romans offered sacrifices, made solemn vows, and settled controversies in the name of Cæsar, with the sanctity of an oath, as in a temple.

Many of Cæsar's words and actions led some of his friends to the belief, that he had no desire to live longer; that he viewed, without anxiety, the failure of his health; and that, for this reason, he had paid no regard to the cautions of his friends, or even the warnings of religion. Trusting the good faith of the conscript fathers, who had lately sworn to defend him with all their might, he had dispensed with the attendance of guards. He had often said, that it was better to die at once, than to be always fearing death. Speaking of himself, he had declared, "My safety is of more importance to Rome than it is to me: I have already reached the utmost height of my ambition; and should any evil befall me, the republic will never be at rest, but, in a worse condition than ever, will be distracted by civil wars."

All agreed that his death, not its violence, but its suddenness, was what he had desired. At one time, when reading Xenophon's description of the death-bed of Cyrus, he expressed his abhorrence of a death so lingering, and his wish that his own might be swift and unexpected.

Cæsar perished in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Suetonius says, that he was numbered among the gods of Rome, not in the language of decrees only, but in the opinion of the people. When the emperor Octavius Augustus returned from Apollonia, he dedicated a temple to Julius Cæsar, and instituted solemn ceremonies in honour of his memory. For seven successive days, during these celebrations, a glittering meteor arose in the sky, about five hours after mid-day. The people took this as a sign that Cæsar was received into the mansions of the gods: for this reason a star was always placed on the head of his image. The portico in which he fell was pulled down. The fifteenth of March, the day of his death, was marked in the calendar as a day of horrid murder, on which the senate never afterward assembled. Scarcely any of his murderers sur-

vived him more than three years, or died a natural death: one perished by one calamity, another by another; some by shipwreck, some in battle; and some of them stabbed themselves with the same dagger with which they had slain Cæsar.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cæsar's greatness—Heartlessness—Pride—Crimes—Crime of his murderers—Their imprudence—The frailty of ambition—True greatness of character—Doing good—Advantages of our country and times—Conclusion.

We have thus brought together the leading particulars of the life and death of one whom all following ages, almost with one consent, have placed at the head of the world's great men.* We suppose that there have been few, perhaps none, to equal him in *power*. But it is a sad thought, that power so great should be allied with so much evil. Cæsar could not have been ignorant of the obligations of truth, justice, and humanity. He was too sagacious to believe the superstitions of his age. He had magnanimity enough for the most generous actions, when they did not stand in the way of his ambition. Surrounded by the selfish, the

* His character has never been more ably drawn than by our own lord Bacon.—*See his Essays.*

intriguing, the depraved, he could detect, expose, and punish them; nor were occasions wanting in which he could utter the purest sentiments in the most graceful language. But from his earliest years, his character was stained by the most detestable vices. His study was not to do what was right, but what would increase his glory. He lived not for his country, but for himself. His object was not to raise men, but to lower them, that he might put his feet upon their necks. He never hesitated to do anything, however dishonourable, or whatever misery it produced, if it only gratified his love of power. Of his wars in Gaul, we have only the soldierly and brief relation given in his Commentaries. Greatly as these have been admired, and justly, for their elegance of expression, they are barren of all noble thoughts, and humane sentiments; they betray a heart as hard and cold as his own sword; they never allow the reader to think of the cities he destroyed, of the widows and orphans he bereaved; of his plunder, rapine, and sacrilege; or of anything but the speed of his conquests, and the terror of his arms.

He worshipped but one god, and that god was—Cæsar. With a force of mind which Pliny

could compare to nothing but fire, and in the wise use of which he might have become the benefactor of his age, and the teacher of posterity,—it is his glory that he destroyed two millions and a half of human lives, by the arms of Rome, and corrupted Rome by the robbery of the nations; and his reward was—the hatred of the men who flattered him, and death by the hands of those who had sworn to defend him. If ever man deserved to die by the laws of his country, Cæsar was that man. He trampled on the constitution; he shed the blood of his fellow-citizens who defended that constitution; he destroyed all that remained of Roman liberty; he insulted the most venerable institutions; he committed crimes for which he would have adjudged any other man to death, which all nations have visited with the highest forms of punishment, and against which the living God has denounced "tribulation, and wrath, and anguish." Yet the men who took away his life are never to be justified. They were murderers. They violated their own oaths. They broke the laws of their country, and the laws of God. They took upon themselves an authority which belonged only to the public, and acknowledged, guardians of justice.

Even Seneca, himself a heathen, has pointed out—not indeed the moral guilt—but the political mistake of Brutus and his associates, in hoping for liberty at a time when there were so many motives for domination on the one hand, and for servitude on the other; in imagining that the state could be brought back to its ancient form, when it had lost its ancient spirit: in thinking that there could be equality of civil rights, in a place where men were contending, not whether there should be slaves, but who should be the master; and in so overlooking the nature of man, and their own history, as to forget that, when they had removed one tyrant, a worse was ready to take his place.

In comparison of his destroyers, it would be difficult to prove that Cæsar had done anything which any one of them would not have done, with the same power, and in the same circumstances. They were all ambitious men. They were all inflamed with the spirit of faction. The great stain upon their character is, that they had all flattered the dictator—had received benefits from him—all of them honours and dignities—and some of them their lives. However plausible the reasonings of Cicero—who praised Cæsar in the highest panegyric

which even his eloquence could pronounce, while he was living, yet, after his death, declared that "he had seen the tyrant perish as he deserved,"—we cannot accept any excuse for the men who murdered in the name of Liberty, a master whom, after his acceptance of supreme authority, they had sworn to defend. There is no public virtue opposed to private duty. On every ground of moral obligation, we are required to look on the assassination of Cæsar as a crime.

In this example of gigantic and terrible depravity, we behold the emptiness and frailty of man's ambition. For five short months of uneasy grandeur, in which his restlessness was kindled to a maddening fever, by the honours lavished on him, Cæsar reaped the fruit of years of toil, and it turned to ashes in his mouth. What a lesson to us all! What are we making our chief good? For what are we spending our strength, our time, our money? If it be for any object that centres in self, that is limited by time, that is confined to earth, what words can express our folly? what colours can paint our disappointment? "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity and vexation of spirit." We were not made to live for ourselves—for

the shadows of earth—for the trifles of time. We were made that we might be guided by the light of God's truth, fashioned after his image, and satisfied with his favour. If we lose sight of this, we may be rich, famous, or powerful, in our small degree; but we shall not be right nor safe; and it is as contrary to our nature as it is to the word of God that we should be truly happy.

Shall the story of men's lives be told in vain? Let the history of Julius Cæsar stamp upon our hearts the lesson taught by Him who, while he was the Son of God, became, as our Saviour, teacher, example, and Lord, the greatest of men: "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" We should fail most seriously in our duty, in portraying the life of Cæsar, if we did not take occasion to remember what it is that really constitutes a great man. The world has been blinded by the excess of splendour which surrounds some names. Cæsar was a great man. We are not careful to deny, at this moment, that he was the greatest man of that kind.

But is a soldier of necessity in the highest class of human beings? Is ambition the

noblest of human motives? Is it the best order of character to meet corruption by corruption, and to conquer force by force?

The greatest man is he who does most good. To do good on a large scale can be the privilege of few; but what only the few can do separately, the many may do by union. We may, therefore, hope that great men are not so rare as they may seem. Wide cornfields wave their ripening treasures where no oak spreads out its boughs as the monarch of the woods. Many a gentle stream waters miles of verdure, giving life and healthful occupation to hundreds of happy men and women, where there is no cataract to allure the travellers from every region to listen to its roar, and to tremble at its sublimity.—It is not want of sensibility to the grandeur of single objects in nature that makes us say that the number and the usefulness of the lesser beauties of our world affect our imagination with a sense of something greater, as well as of something unspeakably more pleasing; and so in looking upon men. Happily the Cæsars are but few; happier still would it be if the class to which he belonged had never been known! We know that, in the time to come, our world will have

no occupation for such men. "Neither shall they learn war any more." But greatness of character will not be wanting. Divine wisdom has taught us a weighty truth, in one short sentence: "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." To be a conqueror requires forethought, arrangement, boldness, patience, courage; but how much more are these qualities required in him who would subdue himself! Here is the secret of true greatness—self-denial and self-control. For want of this, Cæsar enslaved the world; but in that world there was no greater slave than Cæsar.

How much of human wisdom is there, as well as of Divine authority, in the brief proverb of the Scriptures! This true and solid greatness should be aimed at by every child. Every parent should inculcate it by precept, and commend it by example. It is prudence, it is strength, it is happiness. With this no character can be little: without it no character can be great. It lies at the foundation of industry. It opens a sure path to honour. It is the natural effect of believing the great truths of the gospel, which humble us as sinners, and revive us as penitents, that they may

encourage us to watch and pray, and quit ourselves like men. Blessed are they who are helped by God's own Spirit to gain this victory: to them the world becomes an easy conquest. How really pitiful is Julius Cæsar when compared with the lowliest Christian! We are not so ignorant as to despise the gifts of God in bestowing great talents; but we have the highest authority for looking with more admiration on one talent well used, than on a thousand misapplied. The humble peasant, or mechanic, has a warfare to accomplish—a name to honour—a triumph to gain; and in the lowliest vale of life we know of many who are fighting "a good fight," keeping the faith, finishing their course, to whom "the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give" a crown that fadeth not. How many a pious mother, how many an affectionate teacher, how many a faithful pastor, or missionary, will then be found to have been wiser than the world's philosophers, and mightier than her heroes!

Even comparing Cæsar with other names preserved in history, it is clear that Cæsar was not the greatest. Other warriors have equalled him, if not in the rapidity, yet in the solidity and permanence of their conquests. And, in

the civil affairs of the world, he sinks immeasurably below some of his successors in the Roman empire, such as Trajan and the Antonines.

Cæsar laid no foundation of laws or salutary institutions. In all he did, there was a narrow regard to the present, the material, the animal, the gorgeous, and but little of that far-seeing wisdom which embraces deeper interests, and lays up stores of improvement for future generations. His intellect had more vigour than depth. His character had more energy than dignity. There is more in his history to amaze the imagination, than there is to satisfy the understanding; and there is little, very little, to command reverence or to inspire love. We should scorn to compare with such a man the genius of Milton, or the capacity of Bacon.

We think our country has produced heroes as great as Cæsar, scores of wiser statesmen, and thousands of better men. We believe that as sound education advances under the guidance of true religion, the children in our schools will wonder how it ever came to pass that a man attained to greatness, by the unprincipled use of such low and despicable

means as bribery and force. Already we hope that men are beginning to see that there is more glory in elevating men's minds, in emancipating the slave, in promoting the friendly intercourse of nations, in spreading truth, religion, and happiness, than in strewing fields of battle with the dead, or in proudly ruling a humbled and discontented world.

" — What is Fame? A bubble on the stream,
One moment bright, then sinking whence it came;
The airy phantom of an empty dream,
Which mocks the wretch who grasps it with his shame;
A vapour on the hill—a breath—a name!
Where is your Cæsar, where your hero now,
Who once climb'd highest up the mount of Fame?
Alas! the bays have fallen from his brow,
And his poor clay lies crush'd beneath the peasant's plough!

* * * * * *

The single murderer we devoutly hate,
And curse the felon pinion'd in his den;
But thousands slain, and realms made desolate,
Then him who murders most we hail, and call him—Great!"

The Pilgrim of Beauty, by S. MULLEN

It will not be questioned by well-informed persons, that Cæsar owed his prosperity to the skill with which he made the elements of society serve his purpose. He flattered the vain; he fed the hungry; he trained the fierce brute soldiery to do his bidding; he undermined the plotting; and, by his agility, he

subdued the strong. It was a state of society just fitted for such a man; and he was a man just fitted to mould that state of society into what it soon became.

There was no morality in Rome. The Romans were a proud and overbearing people. They were soldiers, and they conquered. But before the time of Cæsar, they had been punished by an overruling Providence, for their contempt of the liberty of other nations by the loss of their own. A free people could not have tolerated such a man as Cæsar. A virtuous people would have borne every sacrifice rather than have bowed to him. So true it is, that to corrupt the morals of a people, is to make them a prey either to foreign conquest, or to domestic tyranny.

We are not always mindful enough of the great advantages of our country, and of our times. In Cæsar's day this island was the abode of men, brave indeed, but poor, and regarded by the Romans with contempt. How different is the case now! The Roman empire has been broken into several independent kingdoms and states, and there is no trace, except to the antiquary, of the power which crushed so many nations; while this island is the

centre of a dominion of greater extent than the Roman empire in its highest glory, and her children are carrying her knowledge, her free institutions, and, above all, her Divine religion, to islands and continents of which Cæsar never heard. In these days, it is not to armies, nor to what the world calls great men, that we are to look for the security of what is dear to our families, or for the only kind of power worth having over men in other lands; but to individual piety, to the charity that embraces all men, to the union of the believing and the praying in the great principles of sanctifying truth in the gospel of the Son of God, and with all this, and above all this, to that heavenly Power which can so bless the world that it shall have neither a tyrant, a rebel, nor a slave. While the parties of a contending age are fighting, after their own fashion, for what they believe to be true and right, we are sure that the gospel is true, therefore we must spread it; we are equally sure that the will of God must be right, therefore we will endeavour by his grace to do it.

Soon we shall be in the same world, to which the wonderful being whose life has passed before us was hurried by his murderers! It is a

solemn thought. No unjust sentence is ever passed by Him who judgeth all men. What is our prospect? We have been taught a truth which Cæsar never learned. We have been told of a sacrifice, of a Saviour, a Spirit of grace. Is this too serious a theme for the close of Cæsar's life? It may be so. But when the reader contemplates his own life as one which must close, and as one which will be written not by man but by God, may it be with a hope well founded, that he shall join the happy hosts that will celebrate an everlasting triumph, in a world which death has never entered. Such a hope can be founded only in the work of Jesus Christ. The work of Jesus is never relied on but by the repentant, humble, and grateful believer; and it is the mark of a believer, that he watches, prays, loves, obeys, and labours as one who is waiting for the "coming of the Son of man."

No life can be understood if it be viewed merely by itself; every man is connected with others in such a way as at once to affect and to be affected by them; and all the events of every life are so intimately related to the plans and purposes of Providence, that it becomes necessary, in contemplating such a life as that

of Julius Cæsar, to regard it in this light. While he was forming his own schemes, and gratifying his own ambition, an unseen eye marked all his steps, and a hand, of which he knew not, was overruling his achievements to subserve an infinitely larger plan. If we had not read the Scriptures, we might have gathered from the beautiful arrangements of the earth and of the skies, that the same Almighty Wisdom was presiding over the affairs of men. But the Scriptures teach us the sublime and consoling doctrine of Providence. The hand that guides the sparrow also rules the nations; and our heavenly Father setteth up kings, and planteth kingdoms. From the first feeble germs of the Roman empire to the perfection of its strength, we trace the unfolding of the Divine purpose. The circumstances of the early settlers—their wars with their neighbours—their frugal habits—their robust energy, their manly exercises—their dignified and polished manners, were among the causes of their superiority to other nations; but it was not owing to any merit of theirs that other nations were in the state in which the Roman armies found them. It was in the midst of this great people that Julius Cæsar arose. We may regard him

as a specimen and type of the Roman character, at the time when the severer virtues of the infant republic were corrupted by the luxuries of wealth, and the pride of conquest. His private manners were those of a high-born gentleman—a Roman patrician, seeking advancement in the state by the arts which win the popular favour—by eloquence, by military fame, and by the dazzling profusion of the amusements in which all ranks of citizens found their pleasure.

His literary performances bear marks of the mature age of Roman learning; and his military exploits, as we have seen, excelled those of all who had gone before him. His discipline is considered by writers who have studied military tactics, to have been the principal cause of his extraordinary success. His ambition was the same passion that animated the leading spirits of the time in which he lived. He was distinguished from the rest of the Romans, as the Romans were distinguished from the rest of the world.

By the energy and prowess of that wonderful people, the nations of Italy, of Europe, of parts of Asia and Africa, were successively brought into one political body, under one

head. By these means the seeds of civilisation, literature, and the arts of war and of peace, were gradually spread over the greater part of the known world. Whatever other purposes of Providence may have been secured by this process, the Christian reader will not fail to mark how the nations were thus prepared for abandoning their several idolatries, and for embracing the only true religion. Rome became the centre of human society, the mistress of nations, the lawgiver of the world. The superstitions of every people were present, by their symbols, and their images, in the imperial city. None of them had proved a defence from the power of Rome. There—all were alike honoured, and alike despised. The feeling of distrust in imaginary gods was slowly, but surely, diffused from the centre to the utmost circle. Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, all the countries washed by the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, became the same as Italy. One effect of this subjugation was, the prevalence of universal peace.

After the death of Cæsar the reins of this vast government passed, before long, into the hands of his adopted son, Octavius Au-

gustus. The temple of Janus, which had been open since the beginning of the second Punic war—a period of a hundred and eighty-eight years—was at length closed. Augustus was succeeded by his son-in-law, Tiberius, in the eighteenth year of whose reign the great sacrifice for the sin of the world was offered in the death of Jesus Christ on Calvary. After his resurrection from the dead, the ascending Saviour revealed to chosen witnesses that he had "all power in heaven and on earth;" and he sent them forth as his ambassadors, to claim the obedience of all nations, as their Saviour and their Lord. These faithful men travelled through the chief provinces of the empire; and, in a few years, after their Master's ascension, they succeeded, by the grace of Him who had promised to be with them always, in establishing his spiritual dominion in the chief cities of the empire, and even at Rome itself.

We see how the entire history of Rome, and especially the supremacy which had been founded, mainly, by the ambition and the power of Cæsar, had been preparing the way for the spread of the gospel. The access to nations was secured. The privilege of Roman citizenship was claimed by the apostle of the Gentiles, both in

Asia and in Europe. The force of truth, the examples of fortitude and holiness, and the patient endurance of persecution and of death, for the sake of the new and hated religion, gained entrance for the gospel into the minds of men in every rank, until the emperors themselves, and the empire, were professedly, at least, subjected to the authority of Him, who, half a century after Cæsar's death, was ignominiously executed as a malefactor, among the despised people of a distant province, which had been subdued by Cæsar's great rival, Pompey. And the vast structure, reared by such amazing efforts of power, and strengthened by so much policy and skill, faded away, at length, in the shadow of that religion which it had attempted to stifle in its birth. Little did Cæsar dream of the connexion of his conquests with the grander victories of the Son of God, and with the spread of that kingdom which shall not be destroyed. As little did his successors dream that the empire which he bequeathed to them was to moulder away beneath the silent progress of the kingdom of a crucified Jew. But we see, in this course of events, the wisdom and the power of the most high God. We behold in them the fulfilment of the ancient

prophecy, which foretold the destruction of the Assyrian empire by the Grecian—of the Grecian by the Roman—of the Roman by the Northern invaders—and of every human empire by the peaceful reign of Him "whose right it is" to rule over all nations and all worlds.

The present state of the kingdoms which have been founded by mixed races on the ruins of the Roman empire, may give rise to a great variety of political reflections, on which it is not our place to enter. They suggest some moral lessons, and some religious thoughts and prospects, to which it is of some importance that the minds of the readers of this "Life of Julius Cæsar," should become increasingly familiar. Without entering on doubtful speculations or perplexing questions, it is a great advantage to have the mind settled in the belief of God's providence. As he orders the time and the place of our birth, our parentage, the outward circumstances of our education, and the various opportunities and occasions for acting according to our dispositions, it would be as much a want of wisdom as a want of piety, to overlook the work of his providence in connexion with so remarkable a man as Julius

Cæsar. We trace it in the condition of the family from which he sprang—in his youthful training—in the events that stimulated his ambition—in the state of parties favouring his advancement—in his own preparation for power—and in the preparation of the Romans for submission; we see how intimately one event is linked with another, and how millions of minds, all aiming at their separate ends, unite in promoting a great object which had never entered the thoughts of any. To Cæsar we may apply the sublime and terrible rebuke of God to the Assyrian conqueror of an older time:

"O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger,
* * * * *
—Against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge,
To take the spoil, and to take the prey,
And to tread them down like the mire of the streets.
Howbeit he meaneth not so,
Neither doth his heart think so;
But it is in his heart to destroy
And cut off nations not a few.
* * * * *
For he saith,
By the strength of my hand I have done it
And by my wisdom; for I am prudent:
And I have removed the bounds of the people,
And have robbed their treasures,
And I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man:
And my hand hath found, as a nest, the riches of the [people:
And as one gathereth eggs that are left,

Have I gathered all the earth;
And there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped.
Shall the ax boast itself against him that heweth therewith?
Or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it?
As if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up,
Or as if the staff should lift up itself, as if it were no wood."
Isa. x. 5—7, 13—15.

In a most serious sense, by no means destroying the personal agency and the responsibility of men, the warrior and the conqueror become as truly the messengers of God as the "showers that water the earth," or the earthquake that engulphs her cities. The same infinite mind that raised up the Pharaohs, Cyrus, and Alexander, also raised up Cæsar; and in all the changes that have passed, or are still passing, on the scenes of his glory, it becomes us to acknowledge the same presiding intelligence, and the same controlling power.

It would produce a strange effect if it were possible for Cæsar to revisit Rome. How changed! only fragments of antique grandeur to record the majesty of the great empire which was founded in his conquests! A feeble priest on the banks of the Tiber, swaying a spiritual dominion farther than the imperial eagle ever flew; while Italy is broken into separate states, the Swiss divided into several republics, Gaul, a

rich and flourishing independent kingdom, and Britain spreading her colonies to the farthest east, and over vast tracts of regions unknown, till many ages after Cæsar's death.

As before the times of Cæsar, and as in his own example, the state of the world has been deeply affected by the career of some one distinguished man, so we still see that it is by single minds, working on the minds around them, great changes are brought about. In our own age we have seen a modern Cæsar scowling on the prostrate nations of Europe, and running a course of conquests which nothing seemed able to resist, till he was overthrown by a great combination, headed by the only people that were too free to fear him, and too energetic to be conquered by him. It is surely due to the Almighty Providence that there are such means of resistance to tyranny in this land, in our own day; and, under the guidance of Heaven, do we not owe our freedom, our riches, our influence, our wide empire in the world, to those institutions which have their foundations in our domestic morals; and pre-eminently to that holy and blessed religion which alone has introduced them, and preserved them till the present day? It were but idle amusement to

survey the life of Cæsar, and the effects produced by him upon the world, if we did not take those broad views both of men and of nations, which the Scriptures teach us; and if we did not, at the same time, apply these views to our opinions of the present, and to our anticipations of future history.

We cannot but believe and hope, that less and less scope will be afforded for the repetition of those bloody tragedies which have been reflected on the mirror of history. We seem warranted to expect that the preparations of our world for the kingdom of Christ will continue to advance with quicker pace, and after a more peaceful fashion; that arts, sciences, commerce, literature, enlightened freedom, and pure religion, are designed to accomplish a work as much more glorious than the deeds of war, as its fruits are happier and more lasting. There is still too much selfishness, too much ambition, too much rivalry, and cupidity, and jealousy, to permit our hazarding the notion, that the age of peace has dawned upon our world. Other wars may arise; other Cæsars may be seen trampling on the liberties and lives of men; other revolutions may break out, like storms, to dash in pieces the mo-

narchies and states of Europe and the world; other judgments may be stored up in the dark treasure-house of the Almighty; and the wail of bleeding nations may hereafter pierce the skies;—but "THE LORD REIGNETH" as of old. He will ever be the defender of truth, righteousness, and mercy. The thought of his heart will not fail. The word of his promise shall not return to him void. The kingdom of which he spake by his prophets, and which he hath given to his Son, must be built up in the earth. His providence is always working surely and steadily, though in ways that surpass our understanding, towards that consummation. It is not for us to penetrate his counsels. We may err, as wise and good men have erred, in expounding all the symbols, and arranging all the chronology, of prophecy. Yet are we well assured that he "knoweth the end from the beginning." All past history pours light upon the calm revelations of that word which represents him to us, as working "all things after the counsel of his own will," bringing light out of darkness, good out of evil, and turning "the curse into a blessing." He forms men's hearts. He orders universal affairs. He is King—and he alone is King over all. To

our impatient minds he may sometimes seem as though he had left the earth in confusion and misery, as the mere theatre of man's ambition, and cruelty, and pride. Confining our views, as we are too prone, to narrow spheres and to short periods, we may fancy that no progress is made towards that better age for which the hearts of good men have always longed, in which the sorrows of many bitter and conflicting centuries are to close in long and happy years of peacefulness and joy. On the one hand, we may be thus doubtful and unbelieving; and the effect of such a state of mind may be, to unfit us for our allotted share of work in bringing about the better state of things which patriotism, humanity, and true piety, prompt us to desire.

On the other hand, it is quite possible that we may be too sanguine, too self-relying, forgetting the variety of agencies by which God is wont to effect his purposes; the long tract of time which has, hitherto, been required for ripening his plans; and the great principle which pervades all his works—his jealousy of his creatures presuming to take to themselves the glory which is all his own. The sober lessons of history are useful to us in correcting

both these tendencies of our minds. By showing what God has done, how he has done it, and when he has done it, they greatly regulate our expectations of what yet remains of his doings in our world. If we are firmly grounded in those doctrines of Providence which the Scriptures so clearly teach, and which they illustrate with such ample variety of examples, we read the lives which compose the leading facts of history, not as idlers, merely seeking entertainment, nor as practical atheists, but as Christians, who know that, not only on the small scale, which lies level to our apprehension, but also on that large scale, which reaches far beyond our thoughts, in all ages, and in all worlds, God is making "the wrath of man to praise him;" restraining and controlling all the passions of our fallen nature, and overruling ambition, and tyranny, and craft, and power, for the furtherance of his own righteous and merciful designs. We take this to be the true "philosophy of history;" raising our thoughts to the supreme government, of which the changes in our world constitute a part. In this way of considering the matter, we are not forgetting that Julius Cæsar was a free and accountable agent; that his acts were his own,

and that he was not likely to regard himself in any other light than as the master of his own actions; and, in consequence of his success, as the true and proper master of the Roman empire. But without forgetting this, we do regard him as an instrument, in the hand of God, for bringing about a state of things which was to prepare the world for the introduction of the gospel, and for all the blessed effects of that gospel on the character of individuals, and on the interests of nations.

It is one of the beautiful mysteries of Providence, that men of great energy and ambition cannot secure their own ends without, at the same time, and unwittingly, securing other ends, which, could they have foreseen them, they would have done their best to frustrate. Thus it was that Pharaoh led the way to the independent existence of the seed of Abraham as a separate nation, when he believed that he was destroying them from the face of the earth. Thus it was that Cyrus, in his career of conquest, fulfilled the predictions of the Hebrew prophets. Thus it was that Pompey and Titus accomplished the judgments of God and the prophecies of Jesus, on Jerusalem. Thus, in like manner, the irruptions of the barbarians

broke up the unity of the Roman empire; and the jealousies of German princes, and the passions of Henry the Eighth of England, in later times, broke up the unity of the Roman church.

It is by looking at these details, by studying the lives of men remarkable for military power and political skill, and by tracing the connexion of remote events, with one another, that we gather lively illustrations of the great truth that history is the unrolling of the volume of the purposes of God. This is what we believe to be the true light in which we may wisely and profitably read what history has told us of Julius Cæsar. The publicity, and extent, and grandeur of his actions, are apt to mislead to the belief that he was either superior to the ordinary laws by which the affairs of men are ruled, or that, in some special manner, he was raised up to put an end to the abused liberty of a corrupted commonwealth. Each of these opinions is alike and equally opposed to the truth. Neither Cæsar nor any other man could go beyond the limits which God has placed around the footsteps of his creatures; and there is no more difference between the founder of an empire and the meanest of his slaves,

than there is between the path of a comet and the falling of a dew-drop: it is the same law of nature that works, under different circumstances, in the one case, and it is the same law of providence that works under different circumstances in the other.

The humblest man on earth occupies a place not less important to himself, and in its measure not less deeply connected with the great events of which history is composed, than that which was occupied by Cæsar, just as the silent process by which each blade of grass is nourished is as important a part of the natural history of the world, as the bursting of a volcano, or the devastations of a plague. Historians and politicians have speculated on the views of Cæsar, his motives, his character, as compared with those of other conquerors and other statesmen; and there are, of course, reasons of great force why a sound judgment on these points should be formed and diffused; but it is of greater consequence that every reader of his life should study his own position, should ponder the incalculable consequences of his own actions, both in the present world, and in the world to come; should have his own principles well founded, and his own

motives regulated by the will of God. However difficult it may be for us, with our imperfect minds, our narrow sphere of observation, and our scanty means of knowledge, to explain the appearance of men who reach their ends by practising so much iniquity, and inflicting on their fellow-creatures so much suffering, we learn from the Holy Scriptures that judgment and "justice are the habitation of" the throne of God, while "clouds and darkness are round about him;" and experience shows that the same passions are displayed every day, and similar miseries are inflicted every hour, in the obscurest haunts of life. Though it is reserved for the few to become either monsters of crime, or bright examples of the virtues that win the applause of nations and of ages; a Cæsar in heart, and on a small scale, may be found in every village, and in every house. Here it is that the providential lessons which we value as the best uses of biography, are brought home to us. With these lessons we shall now conclude.

1. In the first place, *every individual has a character, which works for good or for evil on society around him;* our influence is not voluntary as it regards the fact that we do

produce some effect—whether we will or not, some effect we must produce; but what kind of effect, whether to promote the happiness, or to increase the misery of our world, this is the momentous question for each person to decide, practically, for himself. And amongst whom would the reader wish to be classed?—among the benefactors or the scourges of the earth?—among the self-willed, the proud, the cruel, the sensual, or among the self-denying, the humble, the kind, the spiritual followers of Jesus Christ? Our aim in these reflections is to lead the reader to careful thought respecting his own power to do evil, or to do good, in the world. It is impossible to estimate the happy consequences which would follow, if every reader of this little book should resolve, by the grace of God, to become the conqueror of the world, by becoming the conqueror of himself. It is in our own hearts that the greatest of all victories is to be lost or won. Cæsar did not gain his victories without means skilfully arranged, and applied with earnestness and power. Whether we ascribe to him merely selfish and ambitious motives, or such as would do him honour, as a man and as a Roman, what are these compared with the motives

which urge us to the Christian warfare, "the good fight of faith?" We may attribute what worth we please to the honours which Cæsar achieved for himself—the command of senates, and a seat among the gods; but what are these honours when weighed with those of the great Christian warrior, who said, "I have fought a good fight,... henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day?" Such a fight is before us. Even now are we on the battle-field. The memory of past heroes might inspire us with more ardour than that with which the sight of Alexander's statue inflamed the heart of Cæsar. We follow the steps of a race of spiritual conquerors. How much have we to subdue in ourselves! What ignorance! what prejudice! what pride! what insensibility! what appetites! what passions! what habits slowly formed, and gaining hourly mastery over us!

2. What need we have for all the *watchfulness* that looks with caution and seriousness on surrounding danger, and for all the *prayer* by which the feeble spirit commits itself to the guidance and support of heavenly grace! What mighty motives there are to brace

us up to the best exertion of our best powers, in their best state, that we may "be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand, ... having" our "loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; and" our "feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith" we "shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God: praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit," Eph. vi. 13—18.

3. As the victories of Cæsar were owing to the discipline and united action of his soldiers, under a great and skilful leader, so we expect the victories of the "Captain of our salvation," from the self-denying patience and the hearty co-operation of the soldiers of the cross. The darkness of our world is to be penetrated and scattered by the sons of light. The prejudices of mankind are to be subdued by truth honourably maintained, and perseveringly diffused. The hard hearts of sinners are to be melted by the grace of God accompanying the labours of Christian love. And thus the most splendid triumph in the universe will be achieved, "not

by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord."

How dim will the honours of the Roman wars appear in the light and glory in which the conquests of mercy are to be celebrated! How frivolous, in comparison, were the most arduous labours and dazzling enterprises of Cæsar! To be greater than Cæsar might seem to be a wild ambition; but, if we look at men and at events, as the highest wisdom has taught us to regard them, there will be nothing extravagant in the declaration, that the principles of the gospel, and the grace of God, are raising up an innumerable army of peaceful, but energetic minds, that will be found to have done more for the world than Cæsar did for Rome, or for himself.

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